TOO QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT *A Cable from London*

NEW MASSES

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WE DARE NOT WAIT

America's first and crucial line of defense lies before the gates of Moscow. . . . This is the crisis that decides their future and ours. . . . America must step forward and help Britain open a western front. . . . Not a moment's rest until Hitler is smashed.

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WE DARE NOT WAIT

IN TIMES like these, plain language is itself a weapon. We have no right or reason to view the present crisis of the war any differently from the citizens of Moscow. And it is clear from the leading Soviet newspapers that the citizens of Moscow have been fully and frankly informed of the great danger that hangs over their city and their entire land.

The facts are plain. The danger is that the fascist beast may maintain the fierce momentum of its advance to the very gates of Moscow. The danger is that this beast may succeed in hurling itself across the lines of communication from Moscow to Leningrad as well as Moscow to Kharkov, thus threatening to isolate many Soviet arms producing centers, large and small. The danger is that with all the machines of destruction, extorted and plundered from all corners of Europe, the enemy may overpower the flower of Soviet manhood—those incredibly brave men who form the front lines of defense for America, for everything that is civilized and humane against everything that is barbaric and depraved. These are the dangers.

What is being determined in the outskirts of Moscow is the whole future course of this war. If the Nazis succeed in their desperate lunge, then it must be recognized that the last chance of a relatively quick decision against Hitler disappears. The Soviet people will never give up—whoever gives circulation to that idea is doing Hitler's job. But it is true that if the fascist armies make further progress on Soviet soil, the war will become enormously prolonged, a very long-drawn-out, difficult struggle, lasting the best part of our decade. In such an eventuality, the Nazis may be able to fortify themselves for a period against the days of wrath among the peoples of Europe. They may try, as they are already boasting, a partial exploitation of the rich Soviet soil. They may find time to throw some part of their armies against the gates of the British empire in the Near East. If the Nazis break through around Moscow and beyond, the struggle in the Soviet Union becomes infinitely more complicated, long-term in perspective, involving a fearful loss of Soviet life blood and definitely weakening its position in world affairs.

If, on the other hand, the Nazis are decisively checked, their momentum broken, their arms destroyed, their robots smashed before they reach Moscow, then there are chances of a relatively rapid disintegration of Hitler's power. The terrible winter that approaches in Europe will cause the gnawing realization of ultimate disaster to undermine the morale of the conqueror, giving heart to the peoples under his heel. Hitler may try to establish a defensive line. But if only his offensive can be checked, his gamble will have failed. The Soviet armies will have had time for the preparation of an effective counter-offensive themselves. The war will have turned in favor of the anti-fascist world.

All this—and all that this means for each one of us—hangs on the present battle, the crisis that decides their future and ours.

THE people of Britain have sensed this instinctively. They remember last winter, with the two-ton bombs crashing about their heads and homes. They realize that their destiny hangs on the Eastern Front. They know that they can never do by themselves as much as we can all do together with the people of Russia. They know that British honor, their signature to the alliance of July 12 is at stake. And that is why the demand for "getting on with the war," opening up a front in the West, has reached a crescendo which, as Claude Cockburn observes in this issue of NEW MASSES, the government can ignore only at its political peril.

Just what is holding the British back is of less importance to us than our own share—the American responsibility in holding them back. It may be lack of materiel, or unwillingness to risk men and materiel; it may be a cynical calculation in high places, where the appeasers are none the less active because they have remained concealed. But in the last analysis, instead of passing the buck to Britain or permitting them to pass the buck to us, *it is the United States which must take responsibility on itself,* must step forward and help the British open a western front.

Toward that end, none of us—neither the administration, the people as a whole, nor the labor movement is doing enough, or doing that quickly enough.

Take, for example, the editorial in the New York *Times* of October 11, written the day the fascists were hurtling against Orel and breaking through at Bryansk. "Whatever happens in the crisis now developing," say the influential editors of this newspaper with studied calm, "the Battle of Russia is not 'the most fateful battle of all time.' At worst, it puts things back to where they were last June. . . ." Even if Britain loses its powerful continental ally, the *Times* advises its readers there is always the United States . . . and finally, with incomparable cynicism, the *Times* comforts its readers that should the battle in the East be lost this year, there will be "other years, other battles."

THIS is literally the worst kind of advice to Britain at such a moment, a moment when its only active ally is hard pressed. It is the kind of advice which not only gives the British bleak encouragement of "other battles" stretching into "other years"—but in fact, this kind of thinking profoundly misadvises the American people on the true nature of their stake in this struggle.

Why is it that in his last order to his armies Hitler spoke of crushing the Soviet Union, and in that way striking a blow at England herself? It is because Hitler understands what the *Times* consistently conceals from its readers, namely, that if the Soviet Union is defeated, England is also defeated. If the Soviet Union is defeated, the gates of the empire swing open to the conqueror. Britain becomes a mere island off the continent, subject to ruthless bombardment. Britain's appeasers will be out in the open within a month. And whether the British Navy sides with Germany or with the United States will hang in the balance more desperately than it did a year ago July.

Was it not the *Times* which argued for two years that if England went down, the United States would be thrown on the defensive in the South Pacific, in South America, and the Atlantic? Is it not clear then that if Britain's fate hangs on the Soviet Union, our fate does too? Is it not clear that a defeat for England in the Soviet Union is also a defeat for the United States in the Far East, a defeat for the United States in the Atlantic?

Hitler chose to attack the Soviet Union in June because he firmly grasped the key to the international situation: if he can turn the key, he unlocks the door to world victory. If he smashes the Soviet people, his victory over the rest of the world is automatic. England goes down. America is transformed from a world power to an overseas province. Everything we might do would be mere epilogue, if this battle in Russia were lost.

That is why the kind of thinking in which the *Times* indulges

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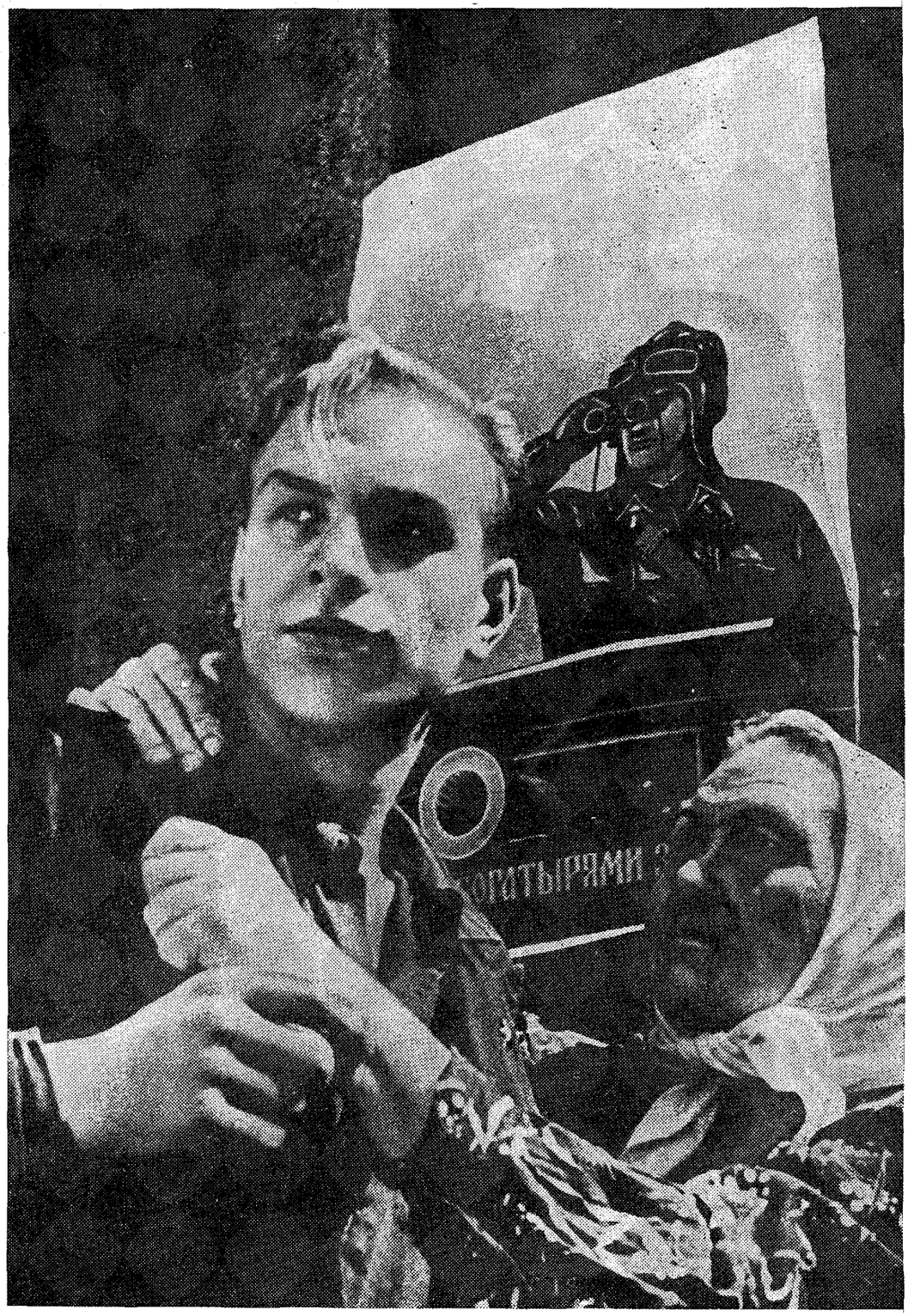
An Editorial

must be abandoned. It simply gives encouragement to the appeasers: By the ultimate logic of its own position, the *Times* would have our country isolated, without allies, despised by the enslaved peoples of the world, at the mercy of an arrogant coalition of fascist overlords. So also, every pressure on Britain for hesitation and delay must be abandoned. On the contrary, it is we who should encourage the British to action, and offer to march alongside them wherever the battlelines demand.

For this, it is necessary that the entire Neutrality Act be scrapped. Our ships must be armed and our goods reach their destination without interference or delay. The resounding defeat for the appeasers in the vote on including the Soviet Union in the lend-lease program should give the administration heart. The nation is waiting for forthright measures. It is high time that Hitler were cleared off the high seas.

For this also, every obstacle to uninterrupted production must be swept away—and it is the labor movement in the first place which must take responsibility for sweeping them away. All in all, we produced less than 2,000 planes of all types in the month of September; we have no heavy tanks on the assembly lines, and a fraction of the light and medium tanks that we need. In their splendid reports on the Moscow conference, Lord Beaverbrook and Averell Harriman gave us all encouragement. They gave us a glimpse of the stout hearts of the Soviet workingmen, with their "genius for mechanization." They gave us a glimpse of the firm and patient wisdom of the Soviet leaders. Beaverbrook's appeal for boosting the production of tanks and other arms must reecho in this country as it echoes in England.

And as in England, the American workers themselves must attend to the problems of production, must call conferences to improve production, must share with the management the burden of getting our goods produced and getting them across, as President Roosevelt has pledged to Stalin. To do less than this is to do everything too late.



SOVIET WAR POSTER: *An eighty-three-year-old grandmother bids goodbye to her grandson leaving for the front*

And while this is being done at home, in the words of Rep. Vito Marcantonio in a recent radio address: "The armed forces of the United States of America should be joined with the British in a European campaign which will divert Nazi forces from Russia and provide the second arm of a giant pincers . . . to crush Hitler once and for all."

There is no solace in the headlines. The situation does not change even if the headlines shift from day to day. The basic fact is that the enemies of Hitler have an uphill fight, the kind of fight that takes vision and stamina and faith and daring. In this we have only begun to do our share.

It was the Greek mathematician Archimedes who promised to lift the world with a lever, if only he had something on which the lever might rest. We too have a world to lift. We have a world to save. The front in the East is the basis for a common effort, an effort by which Hitler can be pried loose in Europe and destroyed. And thereby a world can be saved. For this not a moment's rest.

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NEW MASSES

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TOO QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT

That, Claude Cockburn writes, is the consensus of feeling in all sectors of British life. "Well, for God's sake, why can't we attack the open back door?" A mood of anger.

London (by cable) October 11.

THE shock and ground swell of opinion here on the latest news from the front is probably the biggest thing that has happened to the British public since the retreat from Norway. I mention that episode deliberately because there is a certain similarity between the public's mood then and now. The Crete affair produced something rather like it, but nothing at all as big. Then the people's anxiety was fairly heavily blanketed by the fact of Churchill's leadership. This time it is true to say that the public is in no sort of mood to be put off with anything but straight answers to straight questions. When the London *News Chronicle* in its editorial—an editorial which significantly became famous a few hours after it appeared—stated that the British people are near to a mood of anger, it was telling the plain truth. And the significance of that anger has to be appreciated in the light of the fact that it's an anger such as hasn't been seen since the fall of the Chamberlain government.

The *Evening Standard*, following up the *Chronicle* editorial, said: "There has been no doubt of the mood of the great mass of the public during this period. They welcomed Mr. Churchill's immediate promise of aid to the Soviets. They were impatient with the quibbling in some quarters concerning the formal promulgation of the Russian alliance. They were deeply stirred by the spectacle of Russian sacrifice. They gave a tremendous response to the Tanks for Russia Week. Now that the Russian battle has risen to the point of crisis, the dominant question which they ask is simple: 'Could not we have done more?' These questionings have now reached the House of Commons. No one doubts that the government will be able to give an impressive account of the amount of material sent to our allies. No one underestimates the difficulties. But such replies will not alone be sufficient. The argument ranges over the whole strategy of the war. The people wish to be convinced that their rulers understand what they believe—that we have reached the peak crisis of the war and that the nation is to comport itself in all its affairs in accordance with this supreme fact."

Speaking from my own personal experience after traveling about the country during the last few days, I can say that never has there been such deep uneasiness about whether we are "getting on with it" as hard as we could be. And the principal theme of scores of conversations I have listened to and taken part in—conversations of all sorts of men and women—is the second front, or rather the continued non-existence of the second front. It was the direct and open appeal from the Soviet newspapers, particularly such papers as the *Red Fleet* and the *Bolshevik*, which roused the people to the full. They had suspected all along, and indeed some of their own newspapers had admitted, that Western Europe was by now virtually stripped of German troops and German planes. Now the Soviet press openly declares that this is so and that virtually the whole of Hitler's forces are engaged on the Eastern Front. And people are asking with very greatly increased vigor, "Well, for God's sake, why can't we attack the open back door? And if we can't do it now when in the name of common sense shall we be able to do it? And if, as Churchill says, it is possible for Hitler to invade a Britain where a huge army exists with a relatively small coastline to defend, why on earth is it supposed to be impossible for us to invade the Continent while Hitler's army is away at the other end of it?"

These are obvious questions—questions that are no doubt being asked in America too. Above all, as I have reported before, they are being asked in the British army. The British army is longing to have a whack at the Nazis and to do something to assist the struggle of the oppressed peoples in Europe about which we have heard so much ever since the V campaign started. People are saying that it's about time we stopped simply giving people encouragement of this sort and gave them something a bit more solid. It's true they've been asking this sort of question and saying this sort of thing for weeks past. But I have the impression that this time if the government fails to reckon with this demand, it does so at its political peril.

All over the country this weekend—at factory gates and in the streets, in organizational meetings and in public halls—the demand for immediate offensive action in the West will be raised. Telegrams are already beginning to pour in to Downing Street and the headquarters of the British trade unions, Transport House. A particular object of public disgust and anger is Lord Halifax who, as it is publicly pointed out in the press here, has gone to the lengths of virtually promising Hitler that we are not going to invade his Europe now. Obviously at such a moment, as people review this whole third of a year which has passed since Hitler went East, there are deep suspicious recollections of incidents which, in the view of some, indicate that the government is by no means as unitedly determined on action in collaboration with the Soviet Union as are the people.

NEVERTHELESS, despite the ghastly length of time that has been spent without action on the Western Front, and despite the demoralizing effect of incidents and suspicions such as I have mentioned, the belief of the people is that it cannot and must not be "too late." There may be some whom the inactivity of the government and the high command so far as the West is concerned, has sickened and disillusioned to the point of real demoralization. I don't think there are many of them. On the huge majority the effect of the latest news is two-fold: on the one hand, it is to stir everyone to greater efforts to bring it home to the government that the people—as the People's Convention has just declared in a telegram to Churchill—are prepared to support to the end any policy, however audacious, aimed at taking advantage now of our enormous possibilities at the Western end of the common front. That is the literal truth. On the other hand, the gravity of the situation and the enormous peril now so obviously facing ourselves and the Russians, are certainly having the effect of intensifying the drive of the workers in the factories and their determination to give every ounce of effort they have. And that is significant and important because even now there is still a lot of slack that has to be hauled in in the factories, quite apart from the managerial inefficiencies and other obstacles. Everything depends so far as this end of the front is concerned, partly on that drive in the factories and partly on the success with which the people's demand for action is brought home to the government.

It's a depressingly illuminating measure of the degree of what one can only call moral and political corruption existing in some quarters here, that so much time and so much support should, at this desperately critical moment, have been given to trying to further the cause of the Buchmanites. A whole debate has taken place in Parliament with dozens of members apparently willing to support the Buchmanites—a group proved in the speech of Mr. A. P. Herbert to be more or less openly propagating Hitlerite doctrines here. But the sudden appearance of so many supporters of these near-Nazis was hideously reminiscent of the state of affairs in France two years ago. The warning, it can be said, has not been wasted on the mass of the people.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.

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LITTLE BUSINESS WITH BIG WORRIES

The trusts are using the national emergency to squeeze the small man. But his machines are vital for defense production. Frank J. Wallace discusses the need for wider distribution of contracts.

DIMLY the outlines of a gigantic struggle within the United States begin to reveal themselves. One act of the drama is being played right now. It is the fight for life of the small business man. There is grim humor in it. The class which above all others stands for the sturdy virtues of the profit system is in danger of being obliterated by the wrong operation of a program designed to defend it and the nation as a whole. But more than the appreciation of irony is demanded.

For this is a great test. There is more than meets the eye in the assault upon small business. Involved here is the question of the American standard of living: must it be laid low to accomplish the defeat of Hitler? Involved is the relationship of monopoly capital to the state: are we to see the federal government become merely the front office of the trusts? Involved is our national defense itself. The degree to which we are to defend America by sending the necessary materials to the front lines, the future of democracy within the United States, all are implicit in the new trials through which small business is passing.

Succeeding articles will deal with the problems of survival of little enterprises, particularly in the years since the 1929 crash. But bluntly speaking, the small man has been facing slow death. The manner in which the defense program was administered until recently made his annihilation certain.

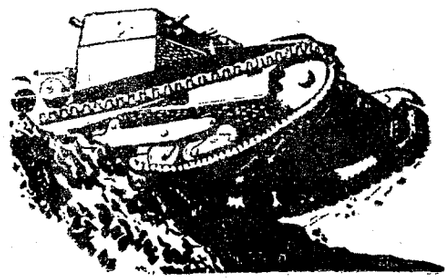
In a radio forum broadcast on September 13 Dewitt Emory, speaking for one of the national associations of small businessmen, estimated that sixty percent of the small manufacturers would have to go out of business because of the operations of the priorities program. Writing in *Forbes' Magazine* of August 15, Thomas N. Young of the Industrial Reporting Service, made the prediction that one-third of the nation's small business will fold up before the year's end as a result of the dislocations caused by the shift to a war economy. Some forty industries are about to close their doors because of the operation of priorities and the allocation of supplies by the dollar-a-year men, says Leo M. Cherne, a very able business analyst.

Clearly the situation is desperate, whether these estimates be under or over the actualities. The impending holocaust of small businessmen has finally spurred presidential action. The administration has taken a step in the direction of meeting the threat with the recent reshuffling of the defense agencies and the creation of the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board headed by Vice President Wallace with Donald Nelson as executive director. Roosevelt has recognized one important phase of the crisis in which the small manufacturers find themselves by taking the job of sub-contracting and small order placement out of the moribund hands of a Mr. Mehornay—bosom friend of monopolist Biggers—and setting up the Division of Contract Distribution under unorthodox Floyd P. Odlum.

But there are two horns on which these minor business firms are being gored. First, they are denied defense contracts. And second, they are being deprived of the materials needed for the conduct of their ordinary business. Even if many more small manufacturers get defense contracts, there will still be a vastly greater number who are not equipped to handle Army and Navy orders, but who are equipped to turn out goods for consumers. For example, there are 497 small corporations manufacturing motor vehicles and parts. Let us suppose that now all of them will get defense contracts. Assume further that all their equipment and labor can be diverted to these government orders. But what do you do with the 6,931 small apparel manufacturers, many of them in the ladies' wear field?

Clearly we have to get to the bottom of two different subjects. We have to see just how defense orders have been funneled into the maw of big business, and determine how contracts or sub-contracts are to be diverted to small business. Then we have to find out whether the defense program really requires *all* of the materials now being taken out of the orbit of commodity circulation—taken out of the civilian's mouth, so to speak. Naturally a tremendous war effort involves a shock to peacetime economy. Agreed that sacrifices have to be made, must be made, and that they should be made gladly, willingly.

OBVIOUSLY if small business can be allotted the materials to enable it to operate on goods for civilian needs, we shall be saved a terrible upheaval in our economy and a disturbing unemployment in the very midst of the war effort. Probably the most heartening event in this connection, and in the moves to secure defense contracts for smaller concerns, has been the meeting of small town mayors, small businessmen, and representatives of labor. This



National Emergency Conference, held in Chicago on September 12, in its principal resolution said: "In the interests of essential national morale . . . we recommend that during the conversion of non-defense industries, priorities for materials be allotted with the aim of maintaining maximum local employment." And they warned "that if at any time employment is reduced below seveny-five percent of normal we shall not be able to maintain the economy and morale of our respective communities." There perhaps is that turning point which will speed up the shift to democratic control and policy in the defense program.

Now some fifty-six large firms hold seventy-five percent of all contracts for armaments. What happens to the smaller man who wants to turn part of his equipment and workers over to defense orders? A recent series in the New York *Post* by Edward P. Flynn and Stanley G. Thompson presented case histories of small businessmen seeking contracts.

A manufacturer was awarded a contract for 30,000 instrument cases for aviators. He was given a priority rating on the imitation leather necessary for these cases. The quantity he needed cleaned out the supplies of this material and forced several firms making goods with imitation leather for civilian use to close up shop. It was pointed out that we didn't have 30,000 aviators and wouldn't have them for years. It would have been more sensible to make enough cases for a year's supply and release the rest of the leather substitute to other firms whose existence depended on it. But such concern for civilian needs is not to be found in the thinking of the dollar-a-year bourbons or among the brass-hatted hierarchs of the Army and Navy.

Another company makes an electrical kitchen utensil which is used in hundreds of thousands of households. It requires a small amount of nickel for its heating unit. There is no nickel to be had. The firm tries to get defense contracts. But its plant is declared to be only "ten percent available" for defense orders. The concern employs 1,000 workers in a city of 50,000. With this vital material out of its reach it will wreck that small town. A genuinely democratic board of allocations would make it its business to rescue these people, put them on defense orders, possibly divert a little nickel to them.

A manufacturer makes electric lamps of aluminum and brass. He employs 373 workers. Naturally he has metal drawing and spinning equipment. Why cannot he get defense orders? Forsooth because the government wants quantities *too big* for him to handle. Some bureaucrat establishes a minimum quantity for which a firm can bid and that lets smaller men, who

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are perfectly capable of doing the work, out in the cold. And there's the manufacturer of compact cases and lipsticks, a firm in business for thirty years, employing 380 in a town of 3,500. This man bids on contracts, but the orders go to big concerns which have to build new facilities to handle the orders. He could have retooled and produced the material ordered just as quickly as the larger firms. But he was considered too small!

Is it surprising that little men are dying in greater numbers than ever? "During most of 1939," report Dun & Bradstreet, "the very small failures with debts under $5,000 constituted about forty percent of the total, but by the middle of 1940 were averaging about forty-seven percent and in April 1941 were as high as 59.6 percent." In one-industry towns and even in good-sized cities with varied occupations, shutdowns and serious unemployment threaten. The labor division of the OPM has just listed some of these towns. They include Long Island City, Rockford, Ill., Culver City, Calif., Evansville, Kokomo, Muncie, Ind., Jamestown and Utica, N. Y., Lorain, Sandusky, Dover and Mansfield in Ohio, Fond du Lac, Manitowoc and Racine in Wisconsin, Grand Rapids, Muskegon, and Saginaw in Michigan, and even Springfield, Mass.

MEANTIME Bendix Aviation at its present rate of production will take years to fill its orders for planes. The radio subsidiary of Bendix is so far behind in delivery of sets to various plane factories that completed planes cannot be flown away and are waiting by the scores outside of the plants. But when a suitably equipped manufacturer asked for sub-contracts to help make some radio sets, he was curtly and unpleasantly turned away. (Bendix net profit for 1939 was $4,500,000. Profit for 1941, estimated on basis of first half year, should be $12,000,000. Backlog of unfilled orders, $300,000,000.)

The Boeing Airplane Company at its present rate of production will take over nine years to complete its present orders, and it has more coming. Present backlog, $650,000,000.

The aviation and automobile industries taken together now have about $8,000,000,000 in plane orders. At their present rate of production they will get them out in seven years. Where will Hitler be then? Frightened to death by the prospect, I suppose. And where will the American people be, protected by these powerful planes bristling on paper?

We are dealing with a phenomenon which requires definition. The small businessman must understand it. Labor and the progressives must recognize it. Let's lift the mask:

We know that Knudsen and Stettinius and Biggers have been arch-obstructionists and bunglers in the defense setup. *Business Week,* which bemoans their apparent sidetracking (still more apparent than real), charitably attributes their attitude to the defense program as a political philosophy in conflict with the "New Dealers." The dollar-a-year men feared the defense program with its "attendant encroachment of planned economy on free enterprise. . . . Biggers, Stettinius, and, before them, C. W. Kellogg, Gano Dunn, and other $1-a-year men who have retired from the scene, were reluctant to accept the vast implications of Washington's all-out program and hesitated to commit industry to them. Lively apprehension concerning the war's aftermath remained a factor in their thinking."

Much is hidden by this soft soap and more, much more is involved here. We have seen how Hitler's infantry remain fully effective only behind their panzer divisions of armored cars and tanks. So these creatures of trustified finance capital can function happily only in the non-competitive, all-possessing atmosphere of the monopoly. Everything to the trust, everything for the trust. The people be damned. Small business be damned. This war is big business. This war belongs to us. We made it possible. We want to run it and profit from it. We must run it like the Aluminum Corp. of America operates. We'll produce just enough to assure us of the most profitable sales volume. With the help of the government we'll now be able to take what we need, more than we need. Take it over regardless of when we'll need it. Heaven be praised, we no longer have to hear that socialistic New Deal bunkum about living standards and labor's rights and expanding democracy. We don't have to worry about markets. We have the most wonderful outlet in the world, an insatiable, never satisfied glutton—the battlefields of the second world war. Come on in, boys, the water's fine. And the pool is restricted to our gang. . . .

So Stettinius got first Walter S. Tower, president of the Steel Institute, then Gano Dunn to "prove" that no expansion was needed in steel. The profits in the steel industry, when it is operating at 105 percent of capacity, are enormous. But there's danger in excess fixed capital when the war's over. The government might requisition and run the new plants in competition with the Steel Trust. When Henry J. Kaiser, the Pacific Coast industrialist, proposed to build a $100,000,000 steel plant on the West Coast, Stettinius made sure the idea of an RFC loan was completely buried. For a while Big Steel's representatives had their way until the heightened demands from Britain and our own needs threw the lie in Gano Dunn's teeth.

And Knudsen saw to it that automobile production was upset just as little as possible. After all, General Motors makes twenty-five percent profit on passenger cars, which is better than the profit on government orders. In August 1941 the auto industry produced 111,429 passenger cars against 56,612 in August 1940—almost 100 percent increase. Mr. Stettinius in charge of priorities saw to it that Mr. Knudsen's auto industry got the steel for the cars. Neither of them worried about how to shift men into production of tanks and armored cars with the least dislocation of whole areas and the minimum unemployment.

In the September issue, *Fortune* published a survey of executive opinion which reports the proportion of manufacturing executives questioned in whose businesses government orders are today playing an important part. Observe how well the dollar-a-year men have done their job. In small firms, with one hundred or less workers, only twenty percent of the executives report any government orders worth mentioning. But in the giant firms, with 25,000 employees and over, 76.8 percent enjoy good government business. Over half of all manufacturers report that priorities are already being felt in their businesses, or threaten to affect them soon. And sixty-five percent of the executives in commerce and retailing already report that their supply of important merchandise items is restricted.

The small retailers too are going to suffer, and the small men in the service industries. Priorities unemployment, estimated at 2,000,000 or more by Leon Henderson, will hit them hard. Restricted supplies will cut their sales volume and drive their customers into the better stocked big stores and the chains.

Were the control of the defense program to remain solely in the hands of the dollar-a-year men, the monopolists, the representatives of finance capital, our whole defense effort would be seriously impeded and a blight would fall upon America. Workers would roam the streets idle while munitions factories worked three shifts. Little business would shrivel and die while the giants sprawled greedily over a continental lebensraum. And we would continue to send only a feeble trickle of munitions to the Soviet Union, Britain, China, and the other nations fighting the Axis powers.

It is fortunate that actually only a tiny sector of business is pro-Hitler and tainted with appeasement. The *Wall Street Journal* voices for this group their continuing hatred of the Soviet Union and their fear of democracy. But the business press as a whole reflects a desire to strengthen the defense effort, albeit at a good profit. Even big businessmen are beginning to call now for a more sensible administration of priorities, with small business and consumer needs in mind. The National Association of Purchasing Agents made the comment recently that businessmen everywhere are becoming "priority-minded to the point of insanity." Some of them neither want to buy nor sell goods without priorities. Says one business paper editor, "The tendency is for all companies to prefer to do business with the armament maker who can attach a priority slip to his order." Thus, if a company is selling copper wire to a defense manufacturer and gets a priority order, it can go out and replace the raw copper on the open market. The company's inventory of raw material remains the same. But if it sells a non-priority-rated manufacturer then it cannot be assured, in the present tight market, of a raw copper supply to replace the material sold. It got so bad that a hardware dealer demanded a priority slip on a simple tool.

In an editorial in *Business Week* for September 27 there is evidence of the new viewpoint of many businessmen, representatives of big firms included. "Perhaps," say the editors,

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"some non-defense priority rating plan can be set up to save the situation. But one thing is certain: If ever there was a time for wise, economic planning, this is it. SPAB has a big job to do." The realization is dawning that a terrible reckoning was about to emerge out of the dollar-a-year-man's saturnalia. Small and medium-sized business folding up, millions out of work from priorities unemployment, a depression in the midst of a wartime boom!

SPAB is only one sign. This board, under pressure, may be the springboard to truly democratic representation of workers and farmers and small businessmen in the decisive defense agencies. The National Emergency Conference formed in Chicago has fine possibilities. And the coming CIO convention will have the opportunity of showing the leadership and resourcefulness that labor is capable of. The recent convention of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers already pointed the way. Its resolution on the steps by which the effects of priorities are to be met and eased opposed "arbitrary reduction of consumer goods," called for defense subcontracts for plants affected by priorities schedules, elimination of excessive overtime to provide jobs for the unemployed, administration of the program by a joint labor-management-government body. This union urged the President to call a conference of representatives of labor, industry, and agriculture to further these aims and to stimulate the production of the basic materials needed for defense. Characteristic of this progressive labor organization is the action by District 4, New York, establishing a joint council with 130 employers of 10,000 workers to take steps to relieve the metal shortage affecting these firms.

THESE are the brighter spots. Because they are now beginning to come to the surface and because they reflect the awakening of huge groups they are encouraging. Since labor has most to lose by the victory of Hitler, labor must take the lead in expanding the defense program, speeding it up, protecting small business, and welding the most diverse elements into a tremendous democratic national front.

This sounds paradoxical, but it isn't. Here the representatives of monopoly capital have run the show so callously that they have revealed not only their greed and indifference to the welfare of the people, but their incompetence as well. This realization dawns at a time when the danger to our country draws closer. There are many sections of business which recognize the threat and are prepared to face and fight it wholeheartedly. They too see that this battle can be won only with the aid of all the people of the country. This means that labor and little business must be included in the active organization and planning of every phase of the defense program. This is not a question merely of protecting the interests of those groups. This is, above all, a question of protecting America against that world menace which strikes at its very existence as an independent country.

FRANK J. WALLACE.

Michaels

"Finland wages her defensive war free from all political obligations, but grateful that she need not fight alone this time."—News report of Helsinki's reply to British note.

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THE CZECHS HIT BACK

Hitler can no longer trust his own puppets. The people sabotage the "new order." The slogan is "Annihilate the enemy by every means."

London (by mail).

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—Hitler's first great conquest in Europe—has come into the news again. It is only three years since those fateful, bitter days of Munich, but the storm is already gathering. Through the very strict Nazi censorship come admissions from the Nazis themselves: their own stooge, Gen. Alois Elias has been arrested; there are mass executions in Prague and Brno; the protector von Neurath has been replaced and the Gestapo has been given free hand. It would not be true to say that guerrilla armies have already taken the field in this heart of Europe, as they have for example in Serbia. But sudden, great outbursts can be expected at any time. The atmosphere, judging from what we learn in London, is distinctly like the prelude to the big storm.

IT IS WELL to remember that the Czechoslovak lands were not conquered by the blitzkrieg. They fell before the outbreak of the war itself. They were victims of the "white war," of treachery and blackmail, of Hitler-Chamberlainism. Moreover, for a long while, the conquerors tried to win over the population of their Bohemian-Moravian protectorate. They made every effort to have the Slovaks feel like allies, not subjects of the Third Reich. Czech industry and Slovak agriculture were extremely important for the Nazi war apparatus. In the first months of the war, Hitler refrained from too open a plundering of commodities in the protectorate and in Slovakia. The Czechs and Slovaks got better rations than the population in the adjoining German districts. The war was not especially felt in Prague and Bratislava. There was even a sense of relaxation when the war which devastated Poland and later Scandinavia, the Lowlands, and France left no bloody marks in the Czech and Slovak lands. The policy of neutrality toward the Soviet Union enhanced the popular feeling that the war would be short, that Czech cities and villages would be spared the horrors of Warsaw and Amsterdam.

But Hitler failed to end the war after the fall of France. The prospect of a prolonged fighting with new fronts opening nearer to Central Europe, the tightening of the rations, the failure to win substantial sections of Czechs and Slovaks for fascism, the necessity of getting more industrial products and foodstuffs out of the "protected" countries, the invasion of the kindred Slavic peoples of Yugoslavia . . . all that changed the atmosphere. The underground work of the Czech and Slovak Communists and other anti-Nazi groups like the Benes people, certain Catholic circles in Bohemia, groups in Slovakia, expanded sabotage in the arms factories and became bolder in the fields. The Nazis tightened their grip. As their "native fascist movements"

failed utterly in Bohemia-Moravia and underwent a rapid decay in Slovakia, the Nazis were themselves obliged to enforce the subjection and plunder, developing more hatreds and provoking still sterner actions from Berlin.

But the decisive turn came on June 22. From that day on, the official Nazi press in the protectorate itself acknowledges a sudden increase of all sorts of resistance. Whereas in the months before June 22, the Nazi paper in Prague, *Der Neue Tag,* revealed a weekly average of three sentences by the special tribunal handling cases of "state enemies," the number jumped to ten per week in July and twenty-two in August.

Shortly before Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union an underground radio station—short wave 25 meters—had made itself known. This station, calling itself *"Nazdar"*—the most popular Czech greeting—found a greatly enlarged public, as the Czech and Slovak peoples were stirred up by the great resistance of the Red Army. Station *"Nazdar"* gave reports from the Eastern Front as the *piece de resistance* of its broadcasts. In addition, the regular broadcasts in Czech and Slovak from Moscow and Kharkov met with so much success in the protectorate that the Nazi controlled radio stations of Prague, Ostrava, Brno, and Bratislava were compelled to arrange special counter broadcasts every day. And this all in spite of the death penalty for those who would not deliver their short wave radio apparatus to the authorities.

Finally, news of the All Slavic Conference in Moscow—August 10 and 11—spread rapidly in Slovakia and in the protectorate. General Catlos, commander-in-chief of the Slovak army (which had to be retired from the front after desertions involved whole regiments), issued a special warning to his troops "not to listen to the criminal talks of those All Slav agitators from Moscow." The controlled press hurled broadsides of invective against the speakers at the All-Slav rally. But they succeeded only in arousing the eagerness of those strata of the Czech population which had as yet not been reached by the illegal press and the whispering news agencies.

FROM THE MANY REPORTS of sabotage and resistance I select a few characteristic cases:

The recruitment of an "Anti-Bolshevik Legion" in the protectorate had to be discontinued a few weeks after its beginning. Knowing the difficulties of this task the Nazis and their instrument—the *Vlajka* organization or the Czech fascists—set a very small quota: only 2,000 men. A former gendarme, Colonel Blaha, was named general and commander-in-chief, a general without soldiers. The radio station *"Nazdar"* immediately made known the names of those who enlisted. The Moscow Czech broadcast did the same. An immense whispering campaign followed. The names of these "traitors of the fatherland and the great Slavic family" were written on the walls of houses, mentioned in leaflets, painted on roofs. An invisible *cordon sanitaire* was flung around every one of them. People did not recognize them, turned away from them. Street cars emptied when any one of them entered. Two of them drowned mysteriously in the Vltava River—"by accident." The family of General Blaha had to move twice because of the atmosphere of contempt and hatred. The recruitment numbers dropped. The papers stopped giving reports about them. To this day, what happened to the legion is not known.

Then there is the story of the Nazi newspapers. The circulation of the Nazi controlled press decreased about twenty-five percent after a radio campaign by *"Nazdar."* On September 14 citizens of Prague were reading Czech classics in streetcars, libraries, restaurants, cafes . . . but no one asked for a single newspaper. Business managers had restricted circulation beforehand. Nevertheless, the newsstands had to return stacks of unsold papers.

The sabotage of farm crops is widespread. The penalty for "chicken murder" has been raised three times in the last six months. Long lists of peasants deported to the concentration camps are published in order to intimidate the rural population. Those lists are issued in poster form in every Czech village. In Central Bohemia stacks of wheat and hay have been set afire by arrows, the points of which were chemically prepared.

Chemical methods are also used in other forms of sabotage. For example, the railroadmen of the Kosice-Bohumin railway—a vital railway line running from east to west and linking the Rumanian oilfields with the Si-

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lesian industrial area—dropped a chemical substance with a rubber base into the tank cars of Rumanian oil. This chemical spoiled the oil, and the spoiled oil ruined the motors. The Gestapo arrested more than 300 railroadmen in order to find out the origin of this sabotage. It had been going on for five months before it was discovered.

The airplane motors produced in the Aero plant of Prague burnt out with amazing rapidity. For a long time the German army experts could not find the cause. Finally it was discovered that two percent of mercury had been added to the metal used in producing certain parts of the motor. The Czech engineer and sixteen men of the motor building department were shot by the Gestapo after that discovery. Whereupon a fire broke out and destroyed part of the building.

The giant armament plant of Skoda in Pilsen was the scene of numerous sabotage acts by fire. Twice a munition dump exploded on the night before the shells were going to be shipped. Moscow reports told of 7.5 millimeter shells of Skoda origin filled with sand instead of explosives. In July 116 workers of Skoda were shot because they had worked in the steel melting department where 3,000 tons of cannon steel had been spoiled by the addition of sulphur. Therefore every Skoda cannon produced in that particular month had to be reexamined. Today SS eliteguard sentries are posted at each furnace of the Skoda plants.

THIS IS THE WAY things are going in Czechoslovakia. This is why the Nazis can no longer trust even their own puppets, why General Elias, half a dozen other luminaries and professors have been arrested. This explains the 259 executions which Herr Heydrich carried through in the first days of October.

Unfortunately Dr. Benes' government in London recently broadcast an appeal to the Czech population "not to let themselves be provoked by the Nazis, not to demonstrate nor to strike." This is a strange kind of tactic in such a critical hour, and contrasts strongly with the appeals of both the London and Moscow radios. Actually, that kind of advice will hardly impress the peoples of Central Europe. As the past has proven, the people always redouble their resistance to the conqueror after every act of his vengeance. The 259 murders will not go unchallenged. Millions of peasants, workers, students, small businessfolk have already heard the voice of their beloved Professor Nejedly, the famous scholar who escaped the Gestapo by sheer miracle. It was he who broadcast from the All-Slav conference in Moscow as follows:

"In the past, the Czech people always won its future primarily by its own efforts. This is no time for rest. It is a time of war, war so that peace shall reign. . . . Annihilate the enemy by every means, destroy his soldiers, his arms, his transport, his supplies."

That is what the peoples of the Czech factories and Slovak fields are doing, night and day.

KAREL TRAPP.

The All-Slav Congress

LITTLE noticed by the press and unappreciated by the public at large is the powerful movement for the unity of the Slav peoples in the struggle against German imperialism. Each day we read new reports of Czech, Serbian, and Croatian resistance to the Nazi conqueror, but few peoples realize that this great "inner front" against Hitler was given its first unified, organized form in the All-Slavic Congress, held in Moscow on August 11 and 12.

This movement of Slavs has nothing in common with the pan-Slavism of the pre-world war times. In those years the appeal to the Slavs was no more than an instrument of czarist policy, and it went into the ashcan of history along with the other institutions of the czar. From their earliest days the Soviets denounced pan-Slavism as "thoroughly reactionary." So also, pan-Slavic propaganda by Austrian and Balkan circles was of the same character, and it is characteristic that despite the broad popular sympathies of the Czechs, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, and Bulgars, the pan-Slavic movement never really enlisted the masses. It was just a technique of power politics and it went down with the power politics of the Austrian archduke and the Romanov dynasty.

But the sympathies of the Balkan and Central European Slavs for their "big brother" did not disappear. In fact, with the successful reconstruction of old Russia on a Soviet basis, this sympathy grew—all the more so in view of the Soviet Union's devotion to the principles of national freedom and self-expression. That is why the famous novelist Alex Tolstoy was able to open the All-Slav congress in Moscow with these words: "The hour has struck when the Slavonic world must unite for the speedy liberation from the Hitler yoke once and for all." Our unity, Tolstoy emphasized, *"shall be the unity of equals.* One ardent and universal aspiration guides us, namely that the Slav peoples and all neighboring nations and states may develop in peace and tranquillity within the bounds of their own statehood. . . ."

So also, the representatives to this congress differed from the old czarist generals, the corrupt Serb politicians, the big Croatian landowners, and the Czech reactionaries. The representatives to this gathering were men of a new type, voicing the hopes of millions from all conquered countries between the Baltic and Aegean Seas.

There was, for example, the Bulgarian writer Stoyanow, and the Macedonian revolutionary Vlakhov, men who had tasted the bitter persecution from native fascists and Nazis alike. There was the Montenegran poet Styenski, who had maintained ties with the best elements of the old revolutionary movement against the Turkish sultan, the "Komitadji." No wonder that when his words reached the backhills of the Black Mountains, they were echoed by shots fired "at the Italian troops carrying on their work of pacification" as the Rome report complains. There was the Serbian professor Maslarich, and the Polish general Janushaitis, both of them with large followings among their own peoples. And there was the Czech intellectual Professor Nejedly, whose speeches on the Moscow radio undoubtedly helped lay the basis for the present upheavals in Bohemia and Moravia. By the frantic propaganda in their own press and by their counter propaganda, the Nazis have already admitted the power of this new Slavic front. Every day they speak of new acts of sabotage, "instigated by Moscow and directed by the criminal pan-Slavic elements."

But the movement of Slavs in support of the Soviet Union and its allies extends far beyond Europe. It embraces the Czech communities in Egypt, Iran, and China, the Serbs in the Near East, and the Poles in Canada. And at the very head of this movement stand the powerful Slav communities of 20,000,000 people in North and South America, in the United States especially. One has only to read the newspapers in the Czech, Slovak, Polish, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, and Serb and Croat languages to appreciate the meaning of the present struggle for the millions of Slavs who live in the centers of our heavy industry—Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit.

On November 21-23 an All-Slav Congress will convene in Pittsburgh, representing what is probably the widest united front that has yet been built in the movement to aid the Soviet Union. Participating are the Slovak evangelical organizations, the Czech National Alliance, scores of fraternal organizations, gymnastic clubs, farmers' organizations, workers' societies, embracing both Roman and Greek Catholic church opinion. Never before have such bodies come together; never in a cause that stirs every Slav so deeply. They will meet in the spirit of the Moscow Congress:

"Oppressed Slav brothers," says the call from Moscow. "The enemy is insidious and strong. United we are a hundred times stronger than he. The peoples of the Soviet Union are with us. With us are the democratic countries. Rise and unite for the liberation war against Hitlerism. Death to the fascist bands of Hitler and Mussolini, these murderers of Slav peoples. Long live our victory."

VIT NEZMANY.

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CAN HEART DISEASE BE CONTROLLED?

Despite medical progress, it is the primary cause of death. The social problems associated with chronic ailments. Broadening the approach to treatment and prevention.

NINETEENTH century medicine was tremendous in its scope and fruitful beyond any period preceding it. It rediscovered old fields like anatomy and physiology and extended their horizons. But of even greater importance was the origin of an entirely new science, bacteriology, enlivened by names such as Koch and Pasteur. That a new science should evolve at that particular period of history is not surprising, for the dominant medical problem of the time was infectious disease—disease caused by bacteria.

Today we are faced with another serious medical problem—the so-called *chronic* or *degenerative* diseases usually associated with advancing age. The conquest of infectious diseases like typhoid, small-pox, diphtheria, and others has helped prolong the average life span. But with increased years, man is exposed to a new set of diseases—cancer, heart disease, kidney disease, arteriosclerosis, high blood pressure, etc. The causes of most of them are unknown, and medical science is just beginning to approach these problems. Treatment in most instances is unsatisfactory. And these diseases are the major causes of death today.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS associated with the chronic diseases are tremendous. With the decline in birth rate and the leveling off of total population so common to modern capitalist society, the proportion of aged individuals is increasing, leading to a steady increase in the incidence of these diseases. With mass unemployment a continual part of the modern scene, with the depressed living standards of the majority of our people, the enormity of the social and economic problems created by this situation is apparent.

Before considering how these problems can be attacked, a word must be said about the attitude toward chronic disease, common among both laymen and physicians. It is not rare to find doctors referring to patients with arteriosclerosis as "crocks"—that is, patients who provide no medical interest. When such a patient enters a hospital, very little attention is paid him and he is relegated to a corner of the ward where he receives little attention from doctors and nurses. These patients are also looked upon with pity and annoyance by their fellow laymen. "Just an old man, poor fellow." Such indifference and hopelessness is cruel and unwarranted. Granted that the problem of aging is a complex biological phenomenon, it certainly is not an impossible one to solve. Bacterial disease is also an involved biological process. Nevertheless we have managed to conquer most of it, and today we do not die before the age of thirty of small-pox or cholera. The average life span today is about sixty years, yet the theoretical life span of a human being is generally taken to be 100 years. If we could eliminate death from accidents, death from infectious disease, and death from chronic disease, we all could live to be 100 years of age, or close to it. The fact that we see people around us who live to eighty and ninety should indicate that while the reasons are not entirely clear, it *is* a fact; and with adequate study those reasons will be revealed and permit us to enjoy the life span which nature intended us to have.

Medical advance and knowledge obviously are necessary, but they will not be achieved unless we take cognizance of the social relations of chronic disease. The truth is that *every* disease has a social and economic background, and one can no more separate these factors from a complete understanding of the disease than one can disregard the relationship between the tubercle bacillus and tuberculosis. Too often the immediate causes of disease can act *only* under definite social conditions. Thus the tubercle bacillus will do its most serious damage only under conditions of poor housing, poor nutrition, and poverty. Merely knowing the cause of disease will not eliminate it. Conversely, even without knowledge of the cause of a disease, it is possible to control or eliminate it by eradicating its social background.

Is this really true, or are we letting our social outlook run away from the facts? Let us take one chronic ailment—heart disease—and analyze it.

HEART DISEASE today stands as the primary cause of death. The 1938 figures listed 350,000 deaths from heart disease in the United States; actually the true figure must be higher, since all cases are not diagnosed or reported correctly. The number of deaths from heart disease has been steadily increasing in recent years, and this increase is both relative and absolute. That is, it is due not only to a reduction in deaths from other causes, but would have increased even if deaths from other causes had not diminished.

Heart disease is twice as common among Negroes as among whites. The reason is not one of race or constitution but is definitely due to economic and social environment. The burden of heart disease falls more heavily, absolutely, in terms of incidence and deaths, and relatively in terms of loss of livelihood, upon the unskilled wage earner, the underprivileged man and woman, than upon any of the higher earning or social levels of the community.

Ninety percent of all heart disease is due to four causes: rheumatic fever, syphilis, hypertension (high blood pressure), and coronary disease. Ten percent is due to congenital defects, thyroid disturbance, toxemia, etc.

By far the greatest offender is rheumatic heart disease. Not only is it the most common type, but it is one of the chief afflictions of youth—crippling and killing children and young adults. The vast majority of cases are found between the ages of four and fifteen years. Rheumatic fever is an infectious disease of obscure origin. It causes inflammation and scarring of the heart valves. The affected valves bring about obstruction to normal blood flow, or leakage where normally complete closure of the valves should occur. Offhand, the prospect of controlling rheumatic heart disease would appear to be quite hopeless. The specific cause is not known, and the organic changes are drastic indeed. Yet, of all diseases, this one offers some of the best possibilities for prevention and treatment, and entirely because of its social and economic aspects.

Rheumatic fever is a disease of thickly settled communities of the temperate zone. It is common where wet and cold are common. Thus it is ten times more frequent in New England than in Louisiana, and practically unknown in tropical climes. Rheumatic fever is also a disease of the poor. In 1935 Dr. John Paul of Yale Medical School made an exten-

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sive survey of rheumatic fever and heart disease among wealthy and poor school children. As a basis for comparison he studied both the expensive private schools of New England and the poorer public schools of the same area. His results, reliable statistically and medically, revealed that the incidence of rheumatic fever among the public school children was eight times as great as among wealthier private school pupils. What is more, he showed that even in public schools a difference could be discerned, for among the working class children the incidence was greater than among the middle class children. This important study has been substantiated by other workers in other districts and countries.

We must conclude, then, that if children had proper housing, proper food, proper living conditions generally, we could reduce the incidence of rheumatic heart disease by *700 per-cent!* That much an appreciation of the social factors can do for us. However, assuming that there will be some who will get the disease in spite of ideal social conditions, our knowledge of the geographical relations of rheumatic fever can provide adequate treatment. For all we have to do is move the child to a warm, dry climate. This has actually been tried with small groups of children. In 1931 Dr. Coburn of New York City moved some active cases of rheumatic fever to Puerto Rico, and recently Dr. Paul White did the same in southern Florida. Both reported excellent results. Most of the children fully recovered.

Whether we use our knowledge to attack poor housing and nutrition, or whether we adopt the preventive measure of migration to warm climates, social intervention is necessary. The individual physician and patient can do very little, but with social pressure rheumatic fever and heart disease could be brought under control within a very short time.

THE TYPE of heart disease most clearly understood is that caused by syphilis. Here there is no question as to cause or prevention. Syphilis is caused by a spiral-shaped organism which gains entrance into the body by direct contact, usually during sexual intercourse. Almost immediately after exposure the organism invades the blood stream and is carried to all parts of the body. Except for a few symptoms little early damage is caused, and after the first three months all symptoms disappear. The organism lies apparently dormant, manifesting its presence only by a positive blood test—a Wasserman. Slowly and over a period of many years the organism carries on its insidious destruction, until perhaps fifteen or twenty years later, when symptoms and signs of heart disease become evident.

Why it takes so long for the disease to develop is not known. Here lies the danger of syphilis, and here lies the clue to its solution. We know how to treat syphilis. Ehrlich and his "magic bullet" set the foundation for the modern chemotherapy of the disease. The problem is one of isolating active cases so that they cannot transmit the infection; to treat active cases *early*—as soon after exposure as possible. Early recognition of the initial infection, followed by rigorous therapy, will not only *cure* syphilis, it will *prevent* heart disease and other serious symptoms later in life.

How can this be achieved? It is obvious that adequate social legislation is necessary to permit us to discover, isolate, and treat all cases of syphilis. Society can attack this public health problem only through the instrument of government. It assumes not only laws, but adequate technical facilities and widespread public education. Education becomes all the more important when we consider how long an interval elapses between infection and the

"Your honor, I never saw this woman before."

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appearance of heart disease or other complications. Since he suffers no symptoms, the natural reaction of the average patient is to avoid seeing a physician. And when he does, it is too late.

As with all disease, economic and social differences are critical in controlling syphilis. Where poverty and ignorance prevail, there syphilis too reaps its harvest. So it is not surprising to discover that syphilitic heart disease is very common among Negroes. It is estimated that about twenty-five percent of all heart disease among Negroes is syphilitic in origin. The battle with the disease has its greatest front here. No effort to eradicate syphilis will have any meaning unless the material and cultural levels of the Negro people are elevated to equal that of the rest of the population. A *complete* program will erase this blight in one generation or less.

MEDICAL TEXTS usually discuss hypertensive heart disease and coronary artery disease under separate headings. However, since they have so much in common both from a medical and social viewpoint, it would seem wiser to speak of them as one disease. Hypertension is one of the most common predisposing factors in the development of coronary disease. And, therefore, what is said about hypertension holds largely for coronary disease.

Hypertensive heart disease is caused by high blood pressure. The heart must pump against a greater than normal pressure. To do so it enlarges, and continues to enlarge until it outgrows its blood supply and fails. Coincident with enlargement, changes in the walls of the coronary arteries (the arteries which supply blood to the heart) occur. Their walls thicken, and sometimes close off completely causing what most people know as a "heart attack."

Hypertension is a very common disease. It is a primary or secondary factor in about thirty percent of all heart disease cases. It is estimated that nearly 100,000 people die each year in the United States as a result of heart failure due to hypertension. It is most common in middle age and later. While the exact cause is unknown, many theories have been postulated involving the nervous system, the kidneys, and the metabolism of protein. All may very well play a part in causing the disease.

Of great interest is the age limit of the disease. Formerly it was thought to occur only after the age of forty-five or fifty, but today we see more and more cases of young people afflicted—individuals thirty-five or younger. A similar situation exists in coronary heart disease. True, it is common between the ages of fifty and seventy, yet a surprisingly large number of cases fall between the ages of forty and fifty; and it is no rare experience these days to see cases thirty years of age. The youngest on record is a boy eighteen years old. The general opinion among experienced clinicians is that hypertension and coronary disease are not only increasing in frequency, but are attacking younger people as well. An analysis of the social and economic background of the diseases becomes all the more important.

Heredity as a factor in causing hypertension and coronary disease has been claimed by many doctors. But how it works, if it does, is far from clear. Heredity has been charged in many diseases, yet actually plays an important role in only a few. It is too easy to indict an individual's "constitutional inferiority" to explain a disease which is not well understood. The danger is that superficial analysis frequently points to heredity background—for example, many members of a family suffering from the same disease. However, in most cases the "familial tendency" exists solely because all the members of the family are exposed to the same environment—poor food, cold damp houses, or economic strain, which may very well be the actual cause of the disease. The dangers in this type of thinking are not only of medical importance, but of political as well. A cursory study of Nazi ideology should provide ample proof of this contention.

Hypertension offers a clear example of how wrong one can be in too hastily conjuring up an hereditary factor to explain a disease. Another term for heredity is race, and this, too, has been offered as a "cause" of hypertension. For example, it has been claimed that Negroes have a weakness for the disease. Now, as a matter of fact, this would appear to be quite true, for hypertension is *twice* as common among Negroes in the United States as among whites. From this it would seem that Negroes have something wrong with their germ plasm. Following through, then if we went to Africa and examined the native Negro population there, the same should be the case. They too should show a high incidence of hypertension. But what we actually find among Negroes in Africa is that hypertension is *rare*.

Environment, then, must play an important role. Manner of living, stresses of modern society, insecurity, miserable diet and housing, worry, and all the other blessings of capitalist civilization probably are directly responsible for many cases of hypertension.

JUST as in the preventive aspects of heart disease, social and economic factors play an important part in treatment—so important that they often determine life or death. Let us consider two men, aged fifty, who suffer a "heart attack"—coronary heart disease. One Mr. X, is a workingman, with a wife and three children, living on a subsistence income. Suffering severe chest pains and shortness of breath, he calls a doctor who makes a diagnosis. The doctor recommends absolute rest in bed for a period of two months, along with other suggestions. Mr. X, frightened, stays in bed. After three days, he feels much better. He has no pain, is no longer short of breath, in fact feels perfectly normal. The doctor warns him to remain in bed, but Mr. X insists on getting up. After all, Doc, I've a wife and three children to feed, rent to pay. I have to get back to work. Besides, I feel O.K. The doctor pleads but is helpless. Mr. X goes back to work. Perhaps a little short of breath, a little more tired, otherwise all right. A week later he suffers another heart attack and dies.

The second gentleman, Mr. Y, is well-to-do. He owns a business which can operate without him. He follows his doctor's advice. He stays in bed two months, employs special nurses, lies in a quiet room overlooking the park, is fed special diets. At the end of two months he gets up. The doctor allows him to take an auto ride in the park. In a few months he is allowed to drop into the office for an hour a day. Everything has gone well; his associates don't bother him with weighty details. If the weather is cold, he goes to Florida. He is secure, unworried. He lives, and can continue to live for many years, leading a restricted yet pleasant existence.

Multiply the case of Mr. X by the thousands and you have the actual situation facing our working class population today. The economic burden is too great for Mr. X to carry, and he must sacrifice his life for it. These two cases are not mythical. Comparative statistics obtained from hospital records will prove them. Given a similar stage of the disease, poorer patients live a shorter time than wealthier patients. This applies not only to coronary disease but to *all* types of heart disease.

THIS SURVEY is far from complete. The writer has merely tried to indicate the social and economic approach in dealing with the problem of chronic disease. Many questions remain to be answered, many more to be asked. Whether social pressure will lead to the development of a new science to combat the chronic diseases, as bacteriology evolved in the nineteenth century to combat the infectious diseases, one cannot predict. Medical science today is far ahead of medical practice, and it is entirely reasonable to suppose that no new science will be necessary; rather an intelligent integration of what we know today and what we will know tomorrow may be sufficient.

However speculative such considerations may be, it must be clear that much can be gained from the type of approach suggested in this article. From a purely scientific standpoint it suggests definite lines of research, such as the influence of nervous factors on the origin and course of organic disease. From an immediately practical standpoint it suggests in what direction society must move in order to eradicate chronic disease, or at least to diminish its influence. That direction must be a progressive one, and on many fronts—economic, social, individual, and scientific. It means that we must attack economic insecurity, provide good housing and nourishment for everyone, teach the individual personal hygiene, establish extensive medical facilities for the treatment and convalescent care of sick people. It means a broad, progressive national health program. But no medical reform program can succeed without the close collaboration between the broad masses of people and practicing physicians. Physicians cannot do it alone. However, they can help *lead* in such a movement. It is to be hoped that the medical profession will assume that responsibility today just as it did in the nineteenth century.

DR. PAUL STATLER.

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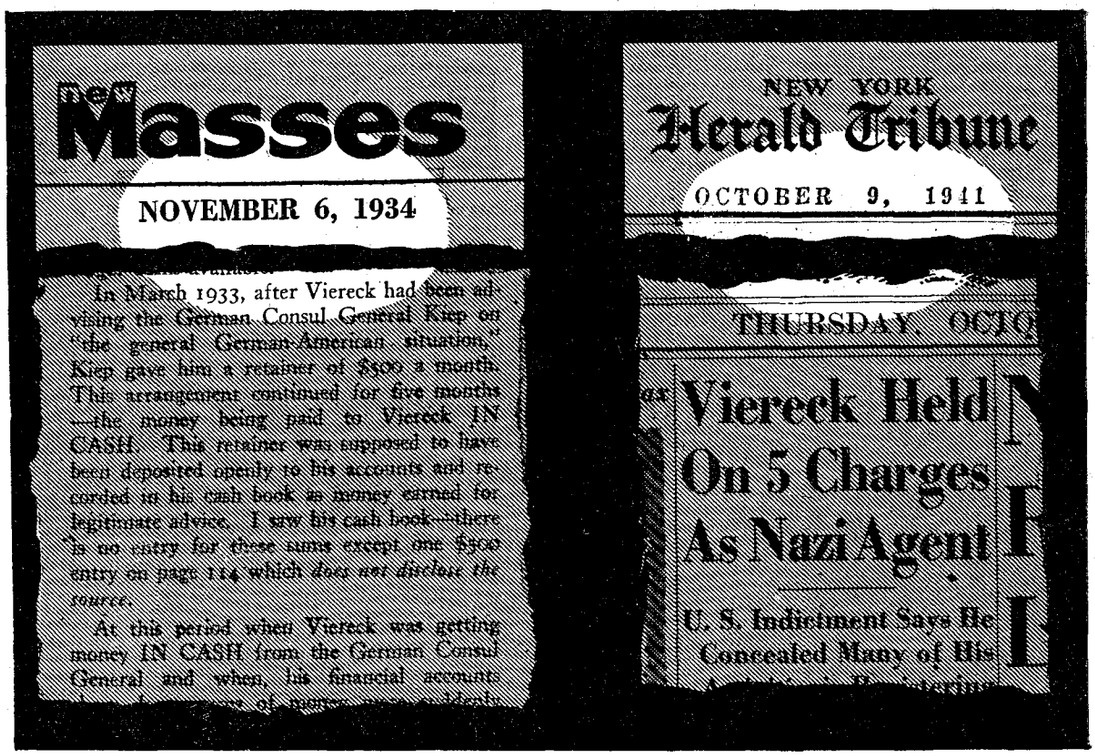

New Masses

NOVEMBER 6, 1934

In March 1933, after Viereck had been advising the German Consul General Kiep on the general German-American situation, Kiep gave him a retainer of $500 a month. This arrangement continued for five months—the money being paid to Viereck IN CASH. This retainer was supposed to have been deposited openly to his accounts and recorded in his cash book as money earned for legitimate advice. I saw his cash book—there is no entry for these sums except one $500 entry on page 114 which does not disclose the source.

At this period when Viereck was getting money IN CASH from the German Consul General and when, his financial accounts

NEW YORK Herald Tribune

OCTOBER 9, 1941

THURSDAY, OCTO

Viereck Held On 5 Charges As Nazi Agent

U. S. Indictment Says He Concealed Many of His

In the Nov. 6, 1934, issue of New Masses John L. Spivak exposed the activities of the Nazi agent, George Sylvester Viereck. Seven years later the government caught up with Viereck and placed him under arrest. This is the second arrest of a Nazi agent whom Spivak originally put on the spot in the pages of this magazine; the other is Fritz Duquesne, one of the key figures in the Nazi spy ring now on trial in New York.

This is typical of the pioneer anti-fascist work New Masses has been doing throughout these years. We have just published a series of three Spivak articles unmasking Hitler's friends at the head of the America First Committee. We want to keep Spivak on the job ferreting out our native Quislings and Vichymen. But that takes money at a time when the printer, the paper man, the cable company, and other creditors are threatening to close down the magazine.

We must speak plainly. Of the $7,600 we need to enable us to pull through this year, only $1,256 has been raised. We are getting this issue out by the skin of our teeth and as this is being written, we do not have enough money to start the printer working on the next issue.

This may sound like an old story, but the threat to the existence of New Masses is new and terribly real. Think what the suspension of even a single issue would mean. Every fascist and anti-Semite in the country would rejoice, but the fight against Hitlerism would be weakened incalculably.

You and your friends can prevent this breach from being made in the anti-Hitler front. You can keep Spivak on the job by keeping New Masses on the job. Don't delay. Send your contribution at once. And call or see personally at least five friends and get donations from them. We are confident you will act.

The Editors

(Please turn to page 30)

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THE STRATEGY OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

A former American government official reexamines the record and pays tribute to Stalin's leadership. How the USSR strengthened the anti-fascist forces of the world.

New Masses reprints the following article from the September 1941 issue of "Current History" by permission of both the magazine and the author. It strikes us as an example of the spirit of honest inquiry which is now impelling wide sections of the American public to revise their former impressions of Soviet policy. In the interest of extending and deepening this inquiry into the truth of our time, New Masses is opening its pages to similar discussion. Our own comment on the article appears in an adjoining column. Mr. Kenneth E. Davis was formerly an information specialist in the Department of Agriculture and is now engaged in free-lance writing.

WHETHER Hitler wins or loses his war on the Eastern Front, his action in attacking the Soviet Union should do much to clarify what has been for us Americans a most confused and confusing situation.

Our confusion began with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact of Aug. 23, 1939. It is probable that none of us who felt the full shock of that sudden blow will ever completely recover from it. The world amenable to logic seemed suddenly to have been killed by one stroke of the Soviet pen: a new world, fluid, transitional, and wholly incomprehensible, was born. One of the certainties of our world had been the implacable hostility of Communist Russia and Nazi Germany. Between two such divergent ideologies there could be no possible compromise, no peaceful meeting ground. As certainly as the earth was round, Stalin would never make a deal with Hitler.

And yet it happened—and at a moment of intense crisis, when the world hovered on the verge of another world war. Stalin, it would seem, had taken a leaf from Chamberlain's notebook. He had become of all things an "appeaser" suddenly doing an about-face in his strategy and making of Chamberlain's foreign policy a boomerang—"to save the Soviet Union." Cynically, deliberately, Stalin turned his back on "collective security" and pushed the world over the brink of the precipice—"to save the Soviet Union." His ruthless nationalism was no better (if no worse) in wisdom and virtue than the "Tory Dialectic" of the British government.

This was the obvious if incredible interpretation; this is how things looked on the surface. And this is the interpretation everywhere presented in what we read—the interpretation that writers are still presenting in their analyses of the most recent development, the German invasion of Russia.

For instance, the *New Republic* in its issue of June 30 says: "If we now emphasize the fact that Stalin brought his troubles upon himself we do so not for the pleasure of being able to say 'I told you so,' but because of the lesson to be learned. The Soviet Union under Stalin has sacrificed one by one practically all the principles which made the Russian Revolution twenty-four years ago flame like a glorious hope. . . . His last and greatest concession came when he shook hands with the deadliest enemy of Communism . . . and by so doing released upon this planet the horrors of a second world war. It is safe to assume that even a few days ago Stalin was prepared to make stupendous sacrifices in order to avoid the German assault. No one ever tried appeasement harder than he did."

And *Time,* in its issue of June 30, says: "For the past two years there have been few moments when Franklin Roosevelt could pity either Stalin or Hitler. But that Sunday morning (the morning of German attack) he could pity Stalin, who had started the war by signing the pact which he thought would keep Russia safe. Stalin, by turning Hitler loose on the rest of the world, apparently saved his own skin—but this piece of smartness had now boomeranged."

For two years we have been asked to believe that Stalin, who as head of the Communist Party was among the first to draw the attention of the doubting nations of the West to the world threat of fascism, who argued with irrefutable logic against policies of "appeasement," and who had only a few years before purged the Russian Communist Party and the Russian army of allegedly pro-Nazi elements, became all of a sudden as incredibly stupid as Chamberlain and proceeded to build a gallows for his own hanging.

This does not explain the facts and indeed is no real analysis at all. For instance, as the *New Republic* asked in its issue of June 23, "Why should they (the German strategists) choose to attack Russia while they are still busy with Britain, and the United States is just over the horizon?" Certainly the German High Command must have been aware of the tremendous actual and potential fighting strength of the Soviet Union. The only answer the *New Republic* offers, in its issue of June 30, is the blanket assertion that Hitler "wants Russian oil and wheat and wants to make his rear secure before he starts his last great assault upon the British Isles." But this leaves out of account the fact that the focal point for the entire conflict has now changed—the major war at this writing is no longer Germany versus Britain but Germany versus Russia.

APPARENTLY we Americans have made no serious attempt to understand the choice that Stalin was forced to make in 1939, and in consequence of this initial error we have come to ignore Russia "as an unknown quantity," as if a power of such magnitude could possibly be ignored, either now or later during the period of postwar reconstruction. Surely it is time we revised our views of Soviet policy, for if we continue to regard the Russians as "enemies" incredibly foreign to our ways of feeling and thinking, our chances for developing a permanently peaceful world order at the close of this conflict will certainly be slim.

In making our revised estimate of Stalin's policy we must begin with the assumption that Hitler meant what he said in *Mein Kampf,* namely, that he does intend to conquer the entire world. Recent history certainly justifies this assumption. We must also assume that Stalin was well aware of Hitler's intentions long before the rest of the world's leaders took the German fuehrer with the requisite seriousness. This assumption, too, is certainly justified by the history of the last decade. We must remember that the Communists fought fascism more consistently than any other organized group, all through the 1930's. They joined in the Popular Front in France; they helped China against Japan and they—almost alone among left wingers—fought and died for their principles in the armies of loyalist Spain. The Soviet Union, as all the world knows, went "all out" for collective security against fascist aggression as an international policy.

What was the situation, then, in August 1939?

1. The policy of collective security had failed to gain practical results rapidly enough to justify its continuance in the face of an immediate fascist threat. It had failed, not because of Russia's lack of zeal or good faith, but because of the unalterable opposition of the leaders of the Western democracies.

2. Those leaders, whose basic strategy for

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the last six years had been to use fascism as a buffer against Communism and to employ Hitler as a tool to crush the Soviet Union, still dominated their governments. The men of Munich were still in charge—Chamberlain, Daladier, and their "appeaser" supporters. These men and governments could obviously not be counted upon to give Russia effective aid in case Russia were attacked. They were psychologically unprepared to do so.

3. They were also physically unprepared to do so. France was torn by internal dissension; there were many in high places who preferred Hitlerism to the making of needed social and economic adjustments within France; and French military leaders, as all the world knew, were preparing to fight only a purely defensive war behind their Maginot Line. Britain—weak in planes and mechanized equipment, and with productive capacities at a relatively low ebb—was unprepared to defend herself adequately, much less give active aid to Poland and Russia.

4. On the other hand, Germany was totally prepared for war, and she was determined that it begin in the summer of 1939. Her diplomatic strategy in the developing Polish crisis was, naturally, to keep her enemies as few and as divided as possible, but if Britain and France backed up their promise to aid Poland in case of Germany's aggression in Poland it was of small importance. Hitler and the German High Command were well aware that neither France nor Britain would have any effect whatsoever on the military results in Poland. The question was, not whether the war was to come that year or not, but rather, whether the initial drive was to be against Russia or against the Western democracies after Poland was crushed, as she certainly would be in a few weeks. *If Hitler was to conquer the world he must crush both Russia and the Western democracies. His decision in 1939 will be based upon his weighing of relative costs. Will it cost more to take on Russia now, or later, after the democracies are crushed?*

5. Russia, then, stood alone against the tremendous weight of Hitler aided probably by Finland, almost certainly by the central European countries and Italy (if needed), and (something we must not forget) by an armed and eager Japan ready to pounce at the first favorable opportunity on Russia's rear. Against such tremendous odds, what were Stalin's chances of victory in case he were, at that moment, attacked? The national boundaries drawn in the Treaty of Versailles left Leningrad in an exposed position only twenty miles from the fortified Finnish border. The Ukraine is hard to defend against highly mobile mechanized forces. The Russian heavy goods industry had probably not at that time produced war materials in anything like sufficient quantity to balance those of Hitler—much less a Hitler allied with Finland, central Europe, Italy, and Japan. In short, the Russian chances for victory in case of an immediate attack of such enormous weight, were slight indeed.

These, it seems, are the hard cold facts, requiring "realistic analysis," that Stalin faced in August 1939. It is absurd to assume that Stalin placed any faith whatsoever in the permanent efficacy of an "appeasement" policy—though it was naturally to his interest to make Hitler think that he did so. In view of the assumptions and facts presented here, the logical conclusion is that Stalin was well aware that, sooner or later, Hitler would attack the Soviet Union. But if the

(Continued on page 18)

Some Points of Difference

THERE are several conceptions and formulations in Mr. Davis' article with which NEW MASSES feels compelled to take issue. In so doing, we do not mean to minimize the significance or value of the author's ideas. To us, this article is evidence of the deep searching of mind and soul which has been going on among Americans of all faiths and classes in the past four months, these critical months for the future of our own country and the whole world.

There are millions of Americans today trying to get a deeper and clearer understanding of the Soviet Union and its place in world affairs. As Mr. Davis implies, this effort to reevaluate the past two years is a crucial one—if our hopes for a permanent solution of postwar problems are not to be dashed. But actually, we need not wait until then. An honest reexamination and reevaluation of the past is of utmost importance today because our immediate obligation is unity of action against the terrible menace of Hitler.

To begin with, there are some matters of formulation which, while they might be considered secondary, nevertheless cannot be ignored. For example, Mr. Davis speaks of "Molotov's issuing a call for world revolution." The author's intentions are honorable; he wishes to show that the USSR did not abandon the working classes of the world after the non-aggression pact. Yet the phrase is dangerous—or at the very best—naive. Revolutions are the expressions of a most profound will-to-change on the part of the vast majority of people. No one can make genuine revolutions from the outside of any country; nor can revolutions be conjured up by mere "calls" from any one man.

The fact is that Mr. Davis probably misinterpreted a passage in Molotov's speech on the twenty-second birthday of the USSR, in November 1939—at any rate, the whole reference in the present stage of affairs is harmful. The Soviet Union is the keystone of a vast front of entire nations and peoples. This front is fighting —not for strictly socialist, but for the most elementary democratic objectives. It is fighting our own War of Independence and the Great French Revolution all over again—fighting to safeguard the existence of whole peoples and their most elementary democratic rights. Any other concept of this present struggle would be wrong, as well as dangerous to the struggle itself.

But the major misconception lies in the passage in which Mr. Davis says that Stalin's decision, not Hitler's, brought about the present war. This comes perilously near Hitler's own claim that the Soviet Union was about to attack him—a venal lie which Hitler employs to escape responsibility for the most criminal deed of his murderous career.

The truth is that the USSR maintained its political and strategic independence during the period of the non-aggression pact. It did not appease fascism, was prepared to continue its peaceful construction of socialism, at the same time making preparations for any eventuality. Hitler could not live at peace with his neighbors because he was planning world conquest. No analysis which correctly emphasizes the Soviet Union's intransigeance toward fascism ought to blur Hitler's responsibility for the holocaust of the past four months.

The passage which Mr. Davis himself italicized is really the most valuable, the one in which he says that in order to achieve world domination Hitler knew "he must crush both Russia and the Western democracies." That is the heart of our present problem. In other words, Russia and the Western democracies are bound by a common link: namely that they are the formidable obstacles in Hitler's path to world domination. Hitler is therefore their mutual and common enemy.

If this is true, and we believe it is, then Mr. Davis misstates the issue when he says at another point that "the major war is no longer Germany versus Britain but Germany versus Russia." This is untrue. Because if it is true that Hitler must crush both Russia and the Western democracies, it follows that the attack on Russia is also an attack on the Western democracies. They all stand or fall together. Hence, this is not a war between Germany and Russia, but a war of Germany against the whole civilized world.

It must be thought about and written about in these terms. And it must be fought in these terms.

THE EDITORS.

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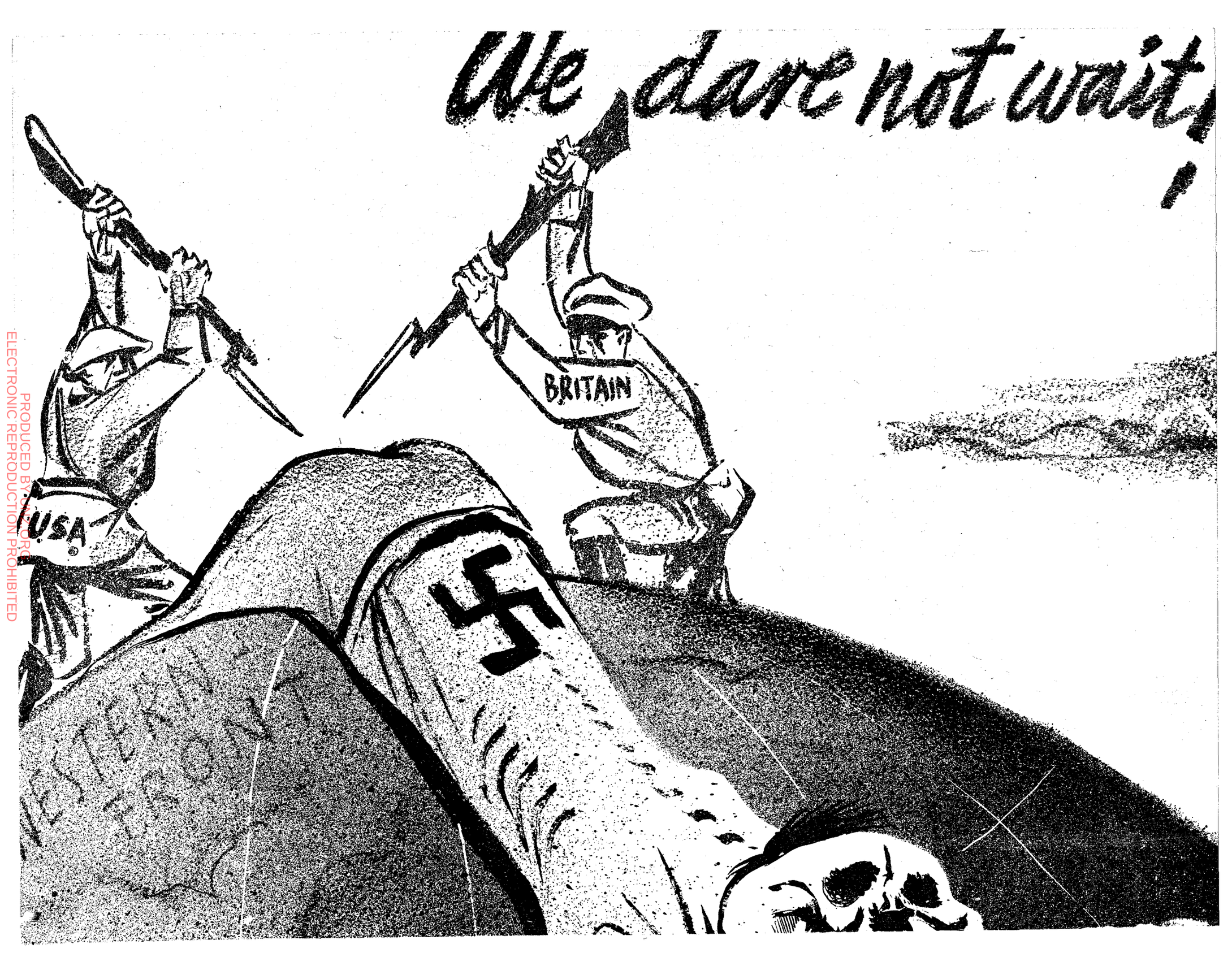

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(Continued from page 15)

attack came soon, Russia was certain to lose —and probably in a relatively short time. France and Britain, far from aiding Russia, would probably have been willing to lend at least passive support to Hitler in a drive to the East. And after Hitler had conquered Russia, what then? With Russian wheat and Russian oil, with a not inconsiderable Russian heavy goods industry ready for his organization, and able now to turn almost his entire force to the West, Hitler would have been immeasurably stronger than before. He would have been well on his way to world conquest.

In view of all this, there is no reason to assume that Stalin's decision of August 1939 was selfishly nationalistic; it can more logically be interpreted as an international policy, designed to strengthen the chances of socialism in all countries. Nor is there any reason to assume, as the *New Republic* and other journals do, that Stalin's action "loosed upon the world the horrors of a second world war." As indicated below, it seems evident that war would have come in any case, and at that time. The war was made inevitable, not by the Stalin-Hitler pact, but by the deal at Munich a year earlier.

What has been the role of Soviet Russia since Aug. 23, 1939?

1. After the collapse of Poland, Russia (to show that she meant business and that she was ready to face Hitler with a stronger force than Britain and France at that time presented) occupied western Poland. Hitler, unwilling to risk a costly and possibly lengthy conflict on the Eastern Front, which would give Britain and France a chance to prepare their own defense, took heed of the warning.

2. Russia then proceeded to correct those sections of the Treaty of Versailles which had obviously been designed to weaken Russian defense. After attempts to negotiate with Finland for the rectification of the Finnish frontier failed, partly because of British support of Finland (which, in view of Finland's close connections with Hitler Germany, seems to constitute evidence of the continuance of British "appeasement" and anti-Soviet policies), Russia rectified her boundaries by force. If she had not done so, it is almost certain that Leningrad would have almost at once been in the hands of the invader. Leningrad, as was mentioned above, lies only twenty miles from the old Finnish frontier, and the disposition of lakes in that frontier country is apparently such as to favor attacks from Finland and discourage attacks on Finland.

3. Russia bent every effort on war production, suspended temporarily the seven-hour day, strengthened the armies on her western border, and did what she could to sabotage (internally and through export failures) the Hitler war effort. Surely these are not the acts of a government that feels that it has insured its peace by "turning Hitler loose on the rest of the world." Quite the contrary. And it is significant that on the twenty-second anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, only a few weeks after the Soviet-Hitler pact, Molotov issued a call for world revolution—and in his statement linked Germany with the capitalist nations.

4. In the spring of 1941 Stalin offered Japan a non-aggression pact, which Japan accepted as a triumph of her own diplomacy and which the Western democracies accepted as further indication that Russia was becoming an integral part of the Axis. Japan, we were told, was now given a free hand to the south; she could move against the Netherland East Indies without fear of Russian attack (as if she might not have done so before). Russia indicated at once, however, that her trade arrangements with unoccupied China were not affected by the treaty with Japan. It seems especially significant that Matsuoka entered into his pact with Stalin on his way home from Berlin. Would he have been likely to have done that if Hitler had told him that the Soviet Union was to be the next victim of German aggression? Certainly that is a question that should be considered in any analysis of recent events.

By the summer of 1941 Russia is completely on a war footing. It appears to the Soviet leaders that the policy of stalling off Hitler has reached a point of diminishing returns so far as Russia is concerned: continued longer, the policy will reduce rather than increase Russia's relative strength. By forcing the issue now, Stalin can force Hitler to fight—and for the first time in a serious way—on two fronts. The British war effort, actively supported by the United States, is beginning to be effective in the West (in the air) and in the Near East and North Africa (in the air and on land). Unless Britain is knocked out soon, which she may be unless a diversion of Hitler's forces is effected, she will inevitably become relatively stronger and stronger. Accordingly Stalin makes his decision: *now* is the time for the inevitable war between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. It is Stalin's decision, not Hitler's. It is Stalin who masses troops and war materials, as though preparing for attack; probably it is Stalin who spreads rumors

and creates psychological tension between Nazi-dominated Europe and the Soviet Union. Almost certainly it is Stalin who lets the world know that by August he will be ready to attack. Very probably this is bait for Hitler. As the last and crowning achievement of his foreign policy, Stalin sees to it that it is Hitler (striving to claim the tactical advantage of "surprise") who breaks the Nazi-Soviet pact—not Russia; thus he keeps intact Russia's reputation for never breaking her treaties.

Surely Soviet policy has gained rather than lost—and the civilized world (including that civilized Germany which was crushed under Hitlerism) has gained rather than lost. In the first place, the Soviet Union has gained two powerful allies—the British empire and the United States, neither of whom was either powerful in a military way or willing to act as a Russian ally in 1939. Japan, by one of the most brilliant strokes of diplomacy in recent history, has been at least temporarily immobilized at Russia's rear. And Russia herself is far better prepared to wage war than she was in 1939. In other words, the Soviet foreign policy has stirred Britain and the United States to efforts they would certainly not have made had they continued to think that they could use Russia to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them, or that they might crush both Stalin and Hitler by driving them against each other—and Japan has been sent in reeling and groggy confusion to a neutral corner (for at least a little while).

One can swallow the commonly accepted analysis only by assuming at the outset that Stalin is both a monster of iniquity and a fool. Though he may be the former (opinions vary on that), there is no evidence whatsoever that he is the latter. From our revised analysis, it would appear that Stalin, far from selling out the democracies, has striven to keep them from selling out themselves. Far from forsaking the basic principles of the Soviet state, he has advanced them by strengthening the anti-fascist forces of the world. It is entirely possible that when the final history of this great world crisis is written, Stalin will stand out as the man who saved the civilized world in spite of itself through one of the most profoundly brilliant pieces of strategy that has ever been employed by a national leader during an international conflict.

This is a possibility. There is the alternative possibility that no enlightened history of this period will be written for centuries—for it may be that, in spite of everything, Hitler will win. Frankly, this writer believes that Hitler cannot win in any final sense, but his victory in the present conflict with Russia —if he achieves it—is certainly not to be taken as evidence of a "mistaken strategy" on Stalin's part. Because of that very strategy, Stalin has a better chance to win now than he had in 1939; and if he loses now, he would most certainly have lost then.

KENNETH E. DAVIS.

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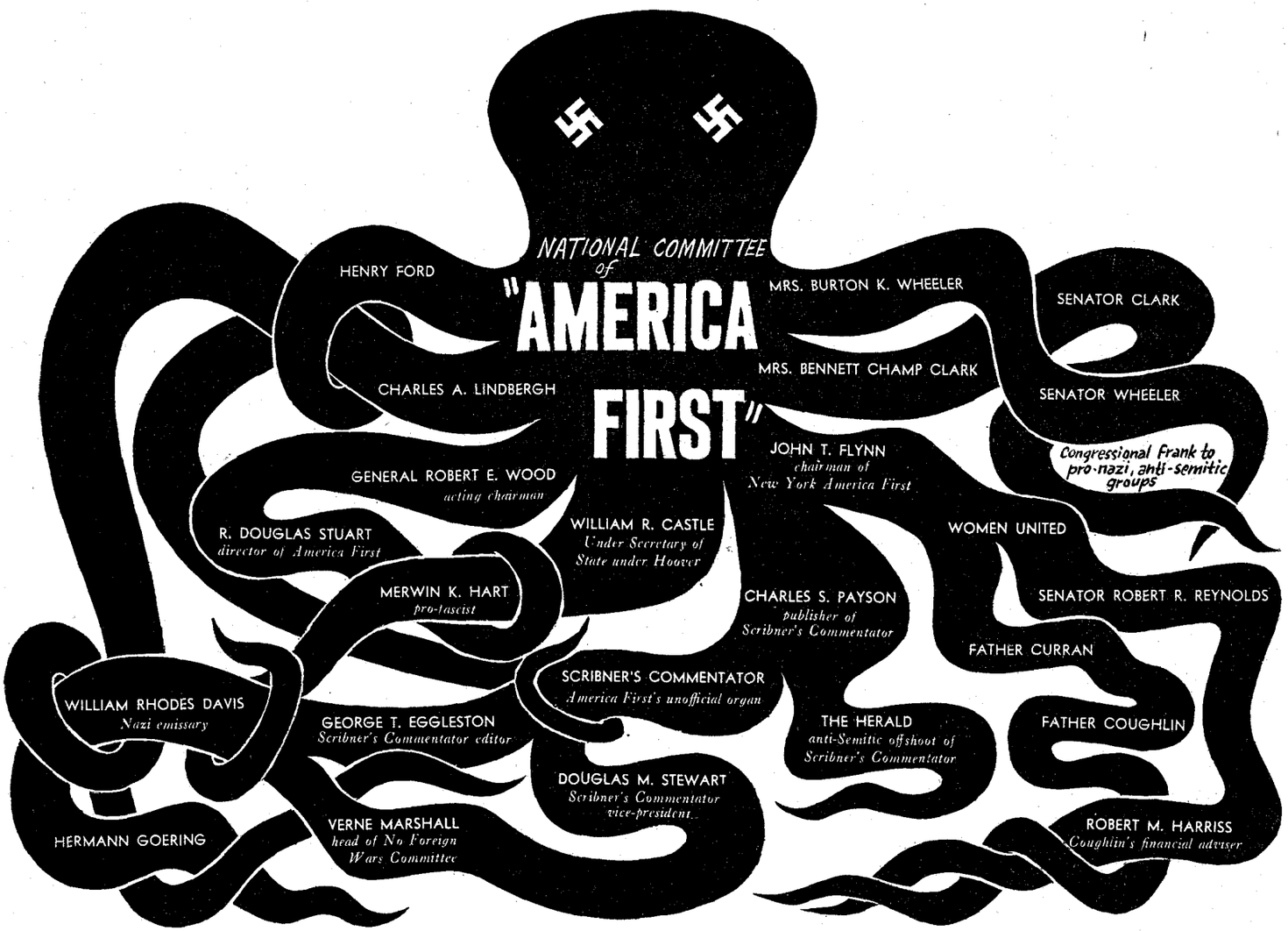

The Enemy Within

"GOOD for the America First Committee!" concludes the leading editorial in the October 6 issue of Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*. The editorial comments approvingly on the endorsement by America First's national committee of Charles A. Lindbergh's anti-Semitic, Des Moines, Ia., speech. In issue after issue *Social Justice* has sung the praises of the America First Committee.

What does this mean? Father Coughlin is one of the leading fascist protagonists in the United States. Through his weekly publication he pours into this country polluted streams of Jew-baiting propaganda. His Christian Front organization has incited violence against Jews and worked closely with the Nazi Bund. Many prominent Catholics, including his own archbishop, have at various times condemned the activities of this fanatical fascist. There must be something about America First that makes Father Coughlin love it so. The organization evidently has a way with it. But is it the American way?

NEW MASSES has just published a series of articles by John L. Spivak exposing the true physiognomy of the America First Committee. The series presented documentary evidence proving that America First is merely an alias for Hitler's fifth column, that it is, in fact, a vast conspiracy against America—against every American who does not want to be a Nazi slave.

Coughlin is not the only fascist snuggling under the same sheets with Lindbergh and Gen. Robert E. Wood. As Spivak has shown, there are others: Henry Ford; the Nazi emissary, William Rhodes Davis, whom Goering two years ago entrusted with the delivery to the American State Department of a secret Nazi "peace" offer; the pro-fascist and crusader for Franco, Merwin K. Hart; the suave anti-Semites of *Scribner's Commentator* and the lunatic fringe racketeers like Edward James Smythe. And in the same bed are also such eminently respectable Vichymen as William R. Castle, former Undersecretary of State, Herbert Hoover, Senators Wheeler, Nye, and Clark, and Rep. Hamilton Fish—members of Congress who have illegally given their frank to pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic groups for the circulation of their propaganda. Behind a heavy camouflage of "peace" talk these gentlemen and their assorted allies are ***the political panzer divisions of Hitler's bestial war against mankind.***

The labor movement particularly cannot afford to be indifferent to this menace. Many CIO unions have adopted resolutions demanding that Kathryn Lewis, daughter of John L., resign from the America First national committee. AFL unions should make the same demand of William L. Hutcheson, head of the carpenters' union, who in defiance of the decision of the AFL convention to support all-out aid to Britain and the Soviet Union, has just become a member of the America First national committee.

But national health demands something more: the wiping out of this Hitler First cesspool into which pours everything foul and corrupt and treasonous in American life. That act of sanitation Congress, with the support of the people, must perform. Let Congress get to the bottom of this fifth column conspiracy. The Greater Boston CIO Industrial Union Council, the *New Republic,* and other groups have joined NEW MASSES in a request for a congressional investigation. We are prepared to turn over all the evidence in our possession.

America dare not delay. It happened in France and Norway. It must not happen here.

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NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

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Business Manager
CARL BRISTEL

Have You Done Your Part?

THE Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder has designated Saturday and Sunday, October 25 and 26, as National Browder Petition Day. "We expect to have thousands upon thousands of people in all large and small cities in the country soliciting for signatures on our petitions to the President. This two day drive is of utmost importance to us, and we are more than confident that the people will respond everywhere."

Meanwhile, "tens of thousands of workers, trade union officials, and other outstanding citizens have already signed." The marine firemen, wipers, watertenders, and oilers on the Pacific Coast called upon President Roosevelt to take executive action. Harvey O'Connor, author of *The Astors, Mellon's Millions,* and other books, has added his name to the committee supporters. Everywhere national unity is expressing itself in the demand that a leading anti-fascist be freed from prison.

Our readers in the past have participated often and effectively in the protection of democratic rights. We urge them now to play their part in freeing Earl Browder.

Cesspool in Panama

LITTLE Panama hit the news this week, and thereby the lid was blown off a scandalous situation which relates directly to the problem of defending the hemisphere against Hitler. A few days before President Roosevelt sent his message to Congress requesting that American merchant ships be armed and permitted to enter the war zone, the government of Panama issued a decree prohibiting the arming of any vessel under Panamanian registry. Since many American ships are registered in Panama (for example the I. C. White, sunk on September 19) this was a clear slap at Mr. Roosevelt's proposal. Three days later Dr. Arnulfo Arias, president of Panama, fled his country just as two leading German emissaries were about to arrive in Panama.

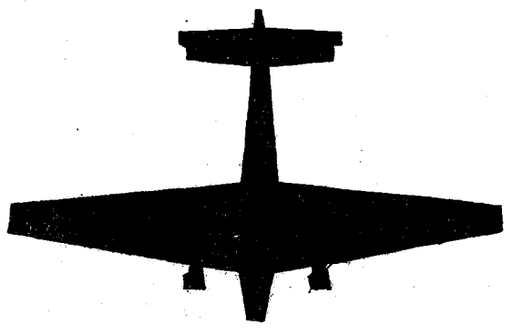
Subsequently a new government was formed, which arrested some of Arias' henchmen. Among these were the mayor of Panama City, the first vice president and minister of education, the minister of public works, and the acting chief of the national police, plus the entire staff of the government newspaper *Tribuna.* This gives you an idea of the kind of cesspool the Arias regime maintained, at the very heart of the Panama Canal. Now the story comes out that this pro-Nazi ex-president had been running his country like a private racket. He controlled all the gambling enterprises. He had established monopolies of milk, sugar, meats, coffee, rice, and potatoes. He had recently raised the telephone and power rates, taking a cut for his political machine. And now we learn that this Arias had formerly been a minister to Germany and Italy; he was notoriously pro-Hitler, and had even advocated the castration of Negroes, who form a large minority, particularly exploited, in Panama. Just a year ago he had made a speech threatening to place his country at the disposal of "strong powers" if the United States did not treat him kindly.

Thus, two questions arise. Why did the State Department play ball with such a man for so long? Is it not intolerable that the American public learns of this story in so accidental and indirect a fashion? And the second question is even more important: How many other dictators are there like Arias, enemies of their own people and American defense? How about Ubico of Guatemala, who only a short while ago was going to sign up with the anti-Comintern pact; how about Martinez of San Salvador, or Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, responsible for the bloody massacres in Haiti? How about Vargas of Brazil, or the acting president of Argentina, Ramon Castillo, who might hand their countries over to Hitler almost any day?

Is it not high time for the United States to strengthen the democratic forces in Latin America, ensuring real defense for the peoples of the hemisphere as well as for ourselves?

Japan's Double Play

THE Japanese have claimed the capture of Changsha. But they failed to enter the city, repulsed by the Chinese armies as the Republic celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of its founding by the great Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Undoubtedly, on this occasion, Japan hoped to chalk up a Changsha victory and thereby to strike another blow at the principles of national independence and democracy on which the Chinese revolution rests. Moreover, Japan sought once again to persuade Chiang Kai-shek that the time to talk "peace" had come, and likewise to impress the US State Department, but Japan didn't pull it off. In fact, the lack of strength displayed by the Japanese does not coincide with past performances; and that leads observers to credit reports that Japanese armies are creating a semblance of activity in China to mask increasingly formidable transfers of troops to the Siberian border. General Hsueh Yueh, commanding Chinese forces at Changsha, stated that Japan has concentrated thirty-two divisions on the USSR frontier.



The Soviet Union is desperately engaged on the European front. The need is clear for a firm stand against Japanese aggression by Great Britain and the United States, for a positive warning that an act of war against the Soviet Union would be an act of war against the British and our own country. Japan can be allowed not even the shadow of a doubt that there will be no Far Eastern Munich, that appeasement policies have been discarded once and for all.

In the Hearst Mold

THE journalistic friends of Hitler can be found not only among the avowed appeasement publications, but also among a few that profess to favor an all-out struggle against the Nazi menace. The October 13 issue of Henry R. Luce's *Time* magazine is a case in point. It publishes an article on Marshal Budenny which deserves a Goering medal for malice and falsehood. This heroic man of the people, one of the Soviet Union's greatest military leaders, who has been entrusted with the command of the crucial southern sector of the vast Soviet front, is described by *Time* as "still a cavalry noncom of incredible dash and dumbness." According to *Time,* Budenny "instead of studying hard after the Revolution, to make up for his ignorance of military science, was satisfied with an honorary degree from the Frunze Military Academy."

The fact is that Budenny has been an active military man for over twenty years. At the age of forty-six he entered the Moscow Military Academy, graduating with honors four years later. He was made a Marshal of the Soviet Union in 1935, and served from 1937-40 as commander of the Moscow Military District. In August 1940 he was appointed First Vice-Commissar of Defense.

Not content with vilifying Budenny's past, *Time* presumes to point out in detail the "errors" which he has made in leading the Soviet troops in the Ukraine. It seems that Budenny has done nothing right. Even his defense of the Donets Basin is a "blunder," and it would have been better if he had withdrawn his troops north and permitted this key industrial area, containing more than fifty percent of Soviet coal production, to fall into Hitler's hands. No doubt Hitler would agree. Unfortunately for *Time,* this low opinion of Budenny's military skill is not shared by American experts. Major George Fielding Eliot, for example, called Budenny's retreat across the Dnieper "one of the most successful delaying and withdrawal operations in military history."

There is ample internal evidence to indicate that in turning out this journalistic perversion *Time* leaned heavily on certain Trotskyites wh[illegible] enry Luce's favorite "experts" [illegible]n So[illegible]irs. The defense of America [illegible],

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however, not assisted by heaping slander on one of the chief defenders of that front on which our own fight for survival as a free nation is being waged with such tenacity and skill.

The New York Campaign

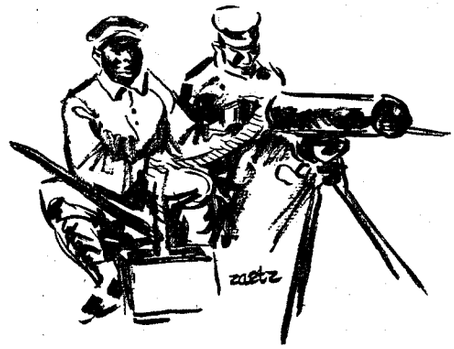
IT HAS been said that the most important public office next to that of President of the United States is mayor of New York. Whether or not this is literally true, the mayor of New York wields very great influence nationally and the kind of mayor New York has therefore becomes of concern to the citizens throughout the country. This is especially true this year when the world struggle against Hitlerism dominates all political activity.

The people of New York are faced with the choice of reelecting Mayor LaGuardia or placing in City Hall Tammany's favorite son, District Attorney William O'Dwyer. Where LaGuardia stands on the fight to defend America against the Nazi menace is clear: he is one of the most active supporters of President Roosevelt's anti-Hitler policy. Where O'Dwyer stands is not so clear on the surface; in fact, it requires a little investigation and the ability to put two and two together, politically. It is not O'Dwyer's alleged past progressivism that matters, but the nature of the campaign he is waging today and the forces whose prisoner he is.

In this connection it may be useful to recall the 1937 election in which Jeremiah Mahoney was Tammany's candidate against LaGuardia. Mahoney too was supposed to be a progressive, having waged a fight against American participation in the Nazi Olympics. But in the campaign Mahoney borrowed a leaf from Hitler and made "Communism" the chief issue. And there was not an anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi group in New York which did not flock to his banner.

Today the issue of fascism versus democracy is far more urgent than it was in 1937. Around Mayor LaGuardia have rallied both wings of the American Labor Party, anti-fascist Republicans and Democrats, the AFL Central Trades and Labor Union, and the CIO Greater New York Industrial Union Council —a coalition of the progressive forces of the city. And once more the Tammany standard-bearer seeks to confuse the issue with Red-baiting. His lip service to the Roosevelt foreign policy is part of the game. His real political obligations are to the reactionary appeasers and corruptionists who have taken him in tow. And it is only fitting that in his entourage, together with the America Firsters, Christian Fronters, Ku Kluxers, assorted anti-Semites and Hitlerites, there should be marching Louis Waldman, Social Democrat and former leader of the right wing of the Labor Party.

Mayor LaGuardia has not strengthened his campaign by his defensive replies to O'Dwyer's Red-baiting and by his lumping of Communists with racketeers. Nevertheless, unity is being achieved. In the interest of this



anti-fascist unity the Communist Party, despite important differences with LaGuardia, has withdrawn its own candidates for city office after collecting an impressive number of signatures for them. It is merely retaining one candidate in each borough for the city council. More of that kind of spirit is needed to defeat the appeasers and tin-box brigadiers in this crucial election.

Labor's Goals

THE President in his message to the AFL convention in Seattle stressed that "This is not the time to take chances with the national safety through any stoppage of defense work and defense production." Today, Mr. Roosevelt emphasized, "Every aspect of our national defense hinges on greater industrial production." William Green immediately called upon "every member of the American Federation of Labor to stay on the job and keep defense production going at full blast." Repeatedly, the CIO, as the AFL, has expressed a like understanding. Harry Bridges told the approving California State CIO, "We pledge our determination to do all to see that production continues in order that the effort may not be marred or blocked by strikes or stoppages of work. . . ."

Undoubtedly, certain employers seek to exploit the national emergency to grab huge profits. They see a chance to refuse workers their rights. But labor can rely on the overwhelming support of the people in resisting abuses; new forms of struggle that will not impede production and thereby play into the hands of the appeasers and the Hitler agents, must be found. There can be no tolerance of those who whitewash profit-crazy employers or who would sacrifice labor for the benefit of monopoly. This implies that workers' just grievances will be recognized and corrected. Production, always larger production, is the goal: and this goal can be achieved with least loss of time only if labor has an equal voice in defense planning and on defense commissions of all kinds.

The administration has the responsibility to see to it that mediation and other labor boards are purged of anti-labor and appeasement elements, that all anti-labor policies be discarded once and for all. Labor's strength and ability must be utilized in every possible manner. Aid to our allies, the building of our own armaments so that this country can play an ever increasing part in the crucial struggle, will depend on how well we utilize labor's eager cooperation. From the unions, the nation must take all that is offered, all that can be gained once labor is granted its rightful place in the common fight.

In addition, as William Z. Foster has indicated in the *Sunday Worker* of October 12, the schism between the AFL and CIO confuses, weakens, and divides the whole labor movement. "Trade union unity," writes Foster, "is imperatively needed to preserve the national independence of the American people." And since life itself has laid the basis for the unification of organized labor, there must be no delay in achieving this all-vital end. Obviously, existing difficulties cannot be resolved by favoring either the AFL or the CIO plans for healing the breach. Foster stresses that unity can and must be achieved by systematic collaboration between the two great bodies of labor on questions growing out of the war, both on foreign and domestic policy. Only then can the trade union movement exert its full energies in the fight against Hitlerism.

Everybody but the Judge

JUDGE Francis C. Caffey is a disciple of Sweet Little Buttercup of *Pinafore* fame. But even Buttercup would be surprised at Judge Caffey's addition to her list of things that seldom are what they seem. In the longest verbal opinion on record, the aged judge discovered that, for all appearances, the Aluminum Corp. of America (Alcoa) is not guilty of the monopoly charges brought against it by the government.

To be perfectly frank, the judge's decision was quite a surprise. Of all aluminum manufactured in the United States, ninety-nine percent (perhaps more) is produced by Alcoa or its subsidiaries. Speaking loosely, this could be considered at least a "virtual monopoly." Moreover, no company in America has done more to delay, to complicate, to confuse the defense program than Alcoa. Of course, every move it has made since the beginning of the national emergency has been toward the indubitably patriotic end of increasing Alcoa's immense profits and entrenching Alcoa in its already dominant position in the industry. Without aluminum, we cannot put planes into the air, tanks into the field, ships onto the seas. Without aluminum, production is stymied. The corporation foresaw no emergency needs that it would be unable to fill many times over: when the needs came, it failed to fill them. Moreover, Alcoa permitted no rivals to enter the field. Hence, the American defense program lacks aluminum.

Nevertheless, Judge Caffey absolves the company of monopoly abuses. His decision is tantamount to an admission that Alcoa can produce what it wants to at a price on which it decides at a time when it is convenient—and the government and the people can lump it. The decision, which will be appealed, is astonishing and indefensible. Worst of all, it is a terrible blow against our defense program.

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TRAITORS' GALLERY

Carl Van Doren's new book helps demolish the Tory-Copperhead version of American history. A startling account of fifth column conspiracies in the Revolutionary era. Reviewed by Samuel Sillen.

SECRET HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, *by Carl Van Doren. Viking. $3.75.*

EVER since Kenneth Roberts glorified the American traitor in *Oliver Wiswell,* I have been anxiously awaiting a book like Mr. Van Doren's *Secret History of the American Revolution.* The success of *Oliver Wiswell* was appalling. That so corrupt a version of our War for Independence should be gobbled up by critics and lending libraries seemed to betoken a dangerous cynicism in American life. Nobody knows how many of the novel's one or two million readers were actually persuaded that the Revolutionary patriots were an unruly rabble of thieves and guttersnipes. Only the most gullible, certainly, could have accepted the fantasy that Tories, spies, and snobbish hypocrites were the real heroes of 1776. But it was scandalous enough that a work like this should be a best seller in a nation preparing to defend democracy.

Oliver Wiswell, let us remember, was not an isolated or freakish instance. Behind it lay a whole school of historical thought. Founded by Claude Van Tyne, this school has attempted to "rehabilitate" the American Tories who remained loyal to the Crown. In recent years the extreme followers of Van Tyne have busily bestowed more honor upon the "misunderstood and tragic" loyalists than upon the "impetuous" rebels. The fascists and the fascist-minded, as George Dimitrov pointed out a number of years ago, "are rummaging through the entire history of every nation" in an effort to "bamboozle the masses." And the sinister effect of this effort is not only that it fosters downright historical lies, but that it gives comfort to contemporary exercises in treason. If collusion with the enemy was a patriotic virtue in the eighteenth century, then America First-Aid to Hitler (to use Upton Sinclair's neat phrase) must be a patriotic duty today.

Carl Van Doren has written a book which helps demolish the new Tory-Copperhead version of our history. His detailed, factual account of the conspiracies of Benedict Arnold and many other traitors of the Revolutionary era has been drawn from the Secret Service Papers of the British Headquarters in America. The files of British Headquarters were preserved among the papers of Sir Henry Clinton, who was in command of the British forces from 1778 to 1782. This invaluable manuscript collection was brought to America about fifteen years ago and is now in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. The first scholar to have been granted access to these files, Mr. Van Doren spent two years of what must have been arduous and fascinating labor deciphering codes, chasing down clues, filling in gaps in the story. And the result is a startling document which should make us all more alert to the warning of the late Ambassador Dodd that "There is no doubt that the Nazi government has paid spies in America and that many of these are ranking American officials."

For, as Mr. Van Doren properly emphasizes, Benedict Arnold was not the first, as he was not the last renegade in American history. The supreme traitor of the Revolution, the most dangerous and skillful of the time, Arnold had precedents enough for his plot to betray his command at strategic West Point. Before May 1779, when he made his first overtures to Sir Henry Clinton, there had been other traitors in high places. And one of the great merits of the Van Doren study is that it places Arnold against the background of that treachery which, as Washington once observed, is part of the growth of every nation and particularly in periods at which momentous issues are at stake.

The record is overwhelming. There is the plotter Thomas Hickey, a member of Washington's guard, who was hanged in 1776 near the Bowery Lane for engaging in a conspiracy in which a mayor of New York, David Mathews, had acted as a go-between for the British. And William Demont, of the 5th Pennsylvania Regiment, who enabled the British to capture 2,700 men by handing over the plans of Fort Washington. And

Carl Van Doren

From an etching by Theodore Brenson

Benjamin Church, Boston physician, minor poet, member of the provincial Congress of Massachusetts, who as the paid informer of General Gage provided information leading to the enemy's attempt to capture the secret American stores at Concord; only three months later Church, still unexposed, was made director and chief physician of the first American army hospital. And the mischievous, double-dealing Maj. Gen. Charles Lee, who, at a time when he was second in the American command, wrote of his chief, Washington, that he was "most damnably deficient." And John Vardill, a New Yorker, who spied on the American commissioners in Paris on the promise that if the British won he would be made regius professor—of divinity!—at King's College (Columbia). And Jacob Duche, a former chaplain of the Continental Congress, who tried to persuade Washington to give up the rebellion because there were so few rebels he would feel like inviting to dinner. And Gen. Horatio Gates; Edward Bancroft, the confidant of Franklin in Paris; and many, many more.

Several significant things may be said about this imposing roll call of traitors. It is gratifying to note that Mr. Van Doren has not approached his material in a cynical, debunking spirit. On the contrary, he impresses the reader with the fact that the temptations were so great, the rewards offered by the enemy so appealing, that it is a tribute to the vast majority of patriot leaders and their followers that they stood steadfastly by the principles of independence. This record of secret maneuvers and bribes reveals that the patriots were high-pressured with offers of ease and comfort at moments when they were tired, poor, or even despairing. The wonder is, said Washington, that "in a revolution of the present nature," with the cause so perilous and the colors so ragged, the catalogue of treachery is so small rather than that there should have been found a few. Mr. Van Doren's study increases rather than lowers our respect for the winter soldiers.

At the same time, such a study enables Americans to understand, in terms of our own history, the actual meaning of the Soviet trials of traitors and spies. At the time of these trials it was maintained in some quarters that, granting the guilt of the accused, there must be something wrong with a system that "produces so many" wreckers. But the fact is, as Earl Browder once pointed out, and as this book incidentally demonstrates, that "We can safely say, making allowance for enormous differences in histori-

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cal epoch and social relations, that America suffered much more than has the Soviet Union from treason, relatively speaking." (Earl Browder in *Traitors in American History.*) Treasonable men had wormed themselves into the highest places, as we have seen. For every Tukhachevsky there was an Arnold or Thomas Conway. And only a contemporary traitor—or a fool—would maintain that the destinies of America would have been furthered by the success of the spies and informers. Any sober historical evaluation must recognize that the apprehension of traitors, and the overcoming of their designs, was a sign of health, not disease, in our early American Revolution as in the Soviet reorganization of society.

"Fantastic," "incredible," as the facts of treachery may seem to gentle minds, the facts stubbornly remain. It is in the account of the Arnold affair that we may follow most clearly the sinister pattern of national sabotage. Arnold had no "Russian soul," nor was he a "character out of Dostoyevsky." Of late there have been attempts to treat him as a hero, the victim of circumstance, the unappreciated, the man who hit back at the tyranny of revolution. Nobody acquainted even with the limited evidence previously available could intelligently have reached such an opinion. With the full information contained in this book, there is not the slightest reason to disagree with Mr. Van Doren's verdict that the treason of Arnold, long considered mystifying, was a downright transaction. "Traditional guesses about Arnold, either that he was a villain out of melodrama or that he was a disillusioned hero honestly converted to the enemy, give way to facts which show him to have been bold, crafty, unscrupulous, unrepentant: the Iago of traitors."

The major find in the British Secret Service papers was the complete correspondence between Arnold and Maj. John Andre, who handled General Clinton's deals with traitor agents. This correspondence appears in the Appendix to this volume, and those who found the evidence of the Moscow trials "incredible" may treat themselves to another orgy of "scepticism" by examining this correspondence. Here was Arnold, the counterpart of Eugene Lyons' "old Bolshevik," who had accompanied Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga and made a soldier's reputation at Quebec and Saratoga. Even in those flush days, the evidence now shows, Arnold was wilful, imperious, inordinately conscious of money and reputation. He had got into protracted squabbles with the Continental Congress because he felt himself slighted. Washington tended to be patient with him for a time, and he even placed him in command of Philadelphia after the British evacuation of that key city. His behavior in Philadelphia was so disreputable that the Pennsylvania Council was moved to take legal action against him. Information now available and cited in this book shows conclusively that Arnold in Philadelphia, as elsewhere, took advantage of his official position for personal profit. He favored the Tories; he closed the shops to keep even army officers from buying goods while he made considerable purchases for his own benefit; he gave special privileges to enterprises in which he had investments. And, at the trial, eight months after offering his services to Clinton, he had the gall to protest that "I sacrificed domestic ease and happiness to the service of my country, and in her service have I sacrificed a great part of a handsome fortune." "I was one of the first," said Arnold, "that appeared in the field; and from that time to the present hour have not abandoned her service." And, since the facts were still hidden, Arnold was punished only with a reprimand from his Commander-in-Chief.

During this time he was conducting a correspondence in cipher with British Headquarters. It is a wretched exchange of notes filled with nauseating haggling over money, on both sides. Arnold had his price; Clinton was cautious. Arnold wanted to be sure he was properly rewarded; Clinton wanted to be sure of his information. The record of this intrigue is not glamorous. It is sordid, mean, revolting. Arnold was advised by Andre, on behalf of Clinton: "Join the Army, accept a Command, be Surprized, be cut off —these things may happen in the Course of Manoeuvre, nor you be censured or Suspected a Complete Service of this Nature involving a Corps of 5 or 6000 Men would be rewarded with twice as many thousand Guineas." Arnold, as Mr. Van Doren says, "went into treason as into a business, surveying the ground and estimating the possible profits." He wanted a sum down for security. The deal was arranged. Arnold managed to get the command at West Point, a big kill, a better and quicker bargain. He communicated the size of the garrison, the amount of provisions, the plans of the high command. But the scheme of betrayal failed when Andre, through a miscarriage of plans, was caught with incriminating notes in his possession. Arnold escaped to the British; Andre was executed.

Benjamin Franklin's remark in a letter to Lafayette was sharp and to the point: "Judas sold only one man, Arnold 3,000,000. Judas got for his one man 30 pieces of silver, Arnold not a halfpenny a head. A miserable bargainer." Washington ordered that Arnold be put summarily to death if captured. And Jefferson, governor of Virginia, later to have his own troubles with traitors, offered a reward of 5,000 guineas for Arnold's capture. The country was at last fully aroused, after nearly fatal leniency. And Arnold went on to England, where he survived as a miserable figure, whining that the terms of his Judas contract were not being altogether fulfilled.

The record shows that Arnold was no weakling filled with self-doubts. It was he who opened negotiations. He did not waver in his purpose or price. And the record shows that Peggy Shippen, his wife, was not a hysterical victim of her husband's malpractice, as some have thought, but an accomplished partner in his intrigue. The record leaves no room for sentimentality. Mr. Van Doren should be congratulated for staying stubbornly with the facts and for avoiding any temptation to indulge in heroics or fancy psychological speculations.

If the book has any fault, it is a failure to give a general historical analysis which might illuminate the larger meaning of the conspiracies in terms of the social relations of the period. These conspiracies were a part of the structure of counter-revolution, and a more incisive analysis of the class alliances in that structure would have given a greater historical richness to the study. But we must be grateful for the extremely important facts which are so patiently and carefully marshaled here.

The Secret History of the American Revolution appears at a strikingly opportune moment. In the present crisis of American life it is a significant warning. Treachery and double-dealing infest many circles of American society today, and there are those who plot to betray the West Points of the land to the enemy. The lessons of our own past have a profound and urgent meaning for us in our national determination to crush Hitlerism. Mr. Van Doren's book is an answer to *Oliver Wiswell* as it is to those who complacently assume that we can afford to tolerate treason.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Dramatic Reportage

MEN OF EUROPE, *by Andre Simone. Modern Age Books. $2.50.*

ANDRE SIMONE'S reportage is superior in many respects to that of other journalists who have described European events since Hitler's rise to power. It is readable without being fantastic, the anecdotes have point, and the writer is not obsessed by personalities. He tries to get beyond the two-dimensional aspect of history which leads so many correspondents to accept the most superficial appearance for reality. This helped him to judge the Finnish-Soviet war correctly, while most of his colleagues went off the deep end (many of them are still spluttering). It enables him now to relate the lessons of yesterday to the desperate needs of the present. His book is a good weapon forged from an understanding of the nature and methods of fascism.

The word "appeasement" is given its true significance in Simone's account of the advance of fascism in Europe. He shows that the history of appeasement is not a record of horrible mistakes made by well meaning diplomats who wished to right the injustices of Versailles, or who wanted to avoid bloodshed at all costs. Blood bothered the great men not at all. Injustice only made them sleep more soundly. But the ghost that got them was the very much alive Soviet Union, and they literally created Hitler, Mussolini, and the whole miserable gang of Baltic and Balkan knights-

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without-shame to give them peace. They got war instead, as the Soviet Union warned them they would, and now the fate of the democracies whom these men betrayed depends in large measure on the strength of the army they derided and the leaders they reviled.

The story is not new, but it bears repeating by a reporter whose gift for dramatizing incidents is supported by his ability to analyze them. Simone makes you feel that British power politics resembled nothing so much as an out-of-date vaudeville act. But he is careful to point out that, given the objectives of the British ruling class throughout the MacDonald-Baldwin-Chamberlain period, these mediocrities gave the performance which was called for. If Chamberlain never learned anything to the day of his death, it was because he had been trained too perfectly for his one role: the truffle hunter who snatches the truffles before the pig can gobble them up. When the pig attacked him, he could only look to Montague Norman's Bank of England for protection. But by then money was weaker than the weapons it had built.

The leaders of Nazi Germany may seem to come straight out of *The Beggars' Opera.* But, as Simone shows, only such characters could fit the requirements of German capitalism and Junkerdom in their bid for world conquest. Perhaps the best pages of his book contain his refutation of the idea, still indulged in even by many liberals, that Hitler forced the German capitalists to abdicate in his favor.

In contrast with the juggling and war mongering that went on in the rest of Europe, Simone draws an unreservedly sympathetic picture of Soviet foreign policy. He relates that policy, of peace and collective security against aggressors, to the anti-imperialist economic and political structure of the Soviet Union. He devotes considerable space to Stalin, about whom he tells a number of charming anecdotes.

Simone concludes with an appeal for immediate vigorous prosecution of the war against fascism, the opening of a western front, the elimination of all pro-fascist elements in the countries fighting Hitler and increasing unity of action of all democratic peoples. He points out that if the lessons of history have brought Winston Churchill to a recognition of the power of the people's love of freedom, we too must set aside all lesser differences and join with every nation and individual to whom that freedom is precious.

CHARLES HUMBOLDT.

Total Psychology

GERMAN PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. Survey and Bibliography, *Edited by Ladislas Farago. Committee for National Morale, New York. $2.50.*

THE Committee for National Morale is guided by the view that "the present war is in large measure ideological" and that Germany, by utilizing the science of psychology, has forged for itself an extremely powerful weapon of war. This is disclosed in the present volume, a survey of "more than 700 titles, including documents recorded on microfilm available only to the committee" and "firsthand observations of staff members within the major German propaganda organizations." The book is divided into two parts: a running text and a bibliography of 561 titles, to which constant reference is made. With a few exceptions, the source material is National Socialist literature proper.

The conclusions which the Nazi military psychologists drew from the experiences of World War I are given at the outset. These are to the effect that the moral forces of Germany at the end of the war were by no means exhausted, but, on the contrary, they were not fully exploited. From this appraisal follows the conclusion that the future total war, with its peculiar character of lightning war, demands mobilization of all the forces of the German people especially in matters of psychology and morale.

Following World War I a group of young officers directed by Hans von Voss, now a general in charge of the German army's "psychological laboratory," sought to introduce the psychological technique into the Reichswehr. They succeeded in 1929. With the Nazi assumption of power in 1933 and with the introduction of general compulsory military service in 1935, these methods were expanded. They were also used by the civil authorities on railway, airway, and post office personnel until they were developed into an all-embracing system intended to insure total "moral" training.

A special group of psychologists was selected for training along with major and minor "fuehrers" as directors. Arrangements were made to include the entire population, beginning with children of six. Training was extended to all special military corps, such as the aviation and armored divisions, and special attention was devoted to relationships between leaders and subordinates, to insignia, uniforms, and symbols; to sexual problems, homesickness, suicidal tendencies, panic symptoms; to army morale and methods for strengthening it, to civilian morale, to the psychology of foreign propaganda—to mention but a few of the most important questions. The whole system was coordinated with the National Socialist *Weltanschauung,* that is, the Nazi scheme of world domination from which and for which it derived its inspiration. What stands out is the fact that to the concept of *Volksgenossenschaft,* unity of the race, and totality in education (body, mind, and soul), is added the thought that not skill, equipment, materiel, or strategy or tactics is the decisive thing: but rather that morale, unconditional blind faith in Hitler's infallibility, is the vital and decisive factor.

In this total system every smallest detail is taken into account. Two examples are of interest. Foreign countries are constantly studied with the purpose of locating "nuclei

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of discontent" *(Stoerungskerne)* which the Nazis might exploit. The army of agents employed has been divided in this book into trouble seekers and trouble makers. The first are assigned to locating political, economic, religious, and other conflicts and differences, and establishing contact with the proper people. They pave the way for the second group which promotes movements leading to demoralization through sabotage. The volume discusses seventeen such trouble-seeking organizations concerned with the United States alone!

Another branch of the foreign division is busy gathering information about leading figures abroad. "On the basis of such personality studies, Leon Blum as French premier was considered advantageous to the Nazi cause, while Churchill and Eden were regarded as extremely dangerous to German aspirations. Employing the findings of their psychological analysts, German political quarters did everything in their power to keep Blum in office and to prevent Churchill from becoming a dominating influence in Britain's pre-war foreign policy."

The writers correctly point out that the importance of this "German psychological warfare" should not be underestimated. And correctly, too, they stress the threat facing America's interests. But stupid and unscientific thinking also creeps into the book. In the concluding section, "What Is to Be Learned from This Survey?", Prof. Kimball Young of Queens College writes: "Many people [in the United States] suffered from what I call the 'Green Pastures' illusion about the glories of Soviet Russia and fascist Italy, the particular belief depending on the person's income." And in the foreword where an announcement is made that a work on "Russian Psychological Warfare" is in preparation—for the book under discussion came out just as the USSR was attacked—it is tacitly implied that National Socialism and Bolshevism are brothers under the skin. Again, the Nazi concept of "Nazi revolution" is adopted, along with the acceptance of ideology and morale as facts per se. These features as well as the book as a whole would make it appear that the contributors fail completely to understand social relationships. Not that this impairs the importance of the work as a source book of valuable material. But it leaves the book's material suspended in mid-air. There is no indication of the fact that totalitarian psychological warfare is not bound up merely with the fuehrer principle and with "blood and soil," but that it is a product of acute social decay, capitalist decay, which is fascism. It is, for example, no accident that the concepts of "desertion" and "defeat" are "consciously excluded from the official Army Regulations." For the Nazis themselves know better than anybody that unless they achieve total victory they face total defeat and annihilation, both through the blows dealt them by the peoples of other countries and through the desertion of their own people. Nor is it an accident that "such stimulants as medicine, alcohol, or drugs as well as better food, are actually used in practice in an attempt to alleviate fear." Reports from the Soviet army have made known to all that alcohol—and, we may add, chains—have become the "psychological" instruments by which the Nazis attempt to maintain the "morale" of their troops. A leading Nazi military psychologist, Pinschovius, has warned: "Total war is far more likely to prove our curse than our salvation."

HERMAN T. KOCH.

Forced Motion

MEN WORKING, *by John Faulkner. Harcourt, Brace and Co. $2.50.*

IN HIS first novel, John Faulkner (brother of William) writes of WPA workers in a Mississippi town. He tells the story of the Taylor family with a certain degree of objectivity and sympathy mixed with a somewhat patronizing attitude and lack of understanding.

The Taylors give up their sharecroppers' bondage for the promise of twenty-four dollars a month on the "WP and A." Paw sells his mule and plow so he can certify for a "four-oh-two" and the family pile bedding and stove into the bus and move to town. They live in a house with seven other WPA families. No one ever counted how many people were living together in six rooms and later in four. Paw buys a radio so he can hear what's going on in Congress about the WPA. Ma worries patiently about the children—nine mouths to feed. Reno, the idiot son, dies. The struggle for rent money becomes more difficult, as one by one the men folk are dropped from the WPA rolls for their "vacations" after eighteen months. And finally Paw is laid off too.

The Taylors move against the background of a small southern town. The "respectable" taxpayers are shocked at the influx of sharecroppers, lured from the land by the promise of a job. The merchants and landlords are out to get the biggest possible share of the WPA checks.

Despair and resignation are the spirit of this book. Though Faulkner presents some of the characters vividly, Paw, trusting and honest, Virginia, fretful, tied to a restless husband and the tiresome business of having babies, no living force flows through them. The only character that offers any resistance to poverty and suffering is Hub, the sensitive older son, and he is conveniently dispensed with long before the end of the book. For the rest, there is no action. All motion is forced upon them. The grotesque, physical decay of the idiot son, birth without meaning, hunger without purpose, life without the energy of life, fill this novel.

Admittedly, the physical and mental oppression of terrible poverty, such as the Taylors experience, can and does foster hopeless resignation and degeneracy, at certain times and in certain cases. We recognize its crim-

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inal effect in the lumpenproletariat, and we must face the fact that such things exist. But we also recognize that this is by no means the whole story. *Men Working* fails because it avoids the basic and universal conflict of human life; that is, man's resistance to events that go contrary to his welfare, and his will to combat and overcome them. Without portrayal of this conflict, the novel lacks purpose and power.

NANCY CARDOZO.

Brief Reviews

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS TODAY: *A Clinical Examination. Assembled with an introduction by Harold L. Ickes. Vanguard. $2.50.*

This remarkable attempt to allay public suspicions of newspapers was put together by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, whose feeling is that the American press would be free if it were slightly more democratic. Critics of the press like George Seldes and Upton Sinclair were pointedly omitted from the prominent journalistic figures requested to contribute; it is consequently no great surprise that the impression given by this book is that freedom of the press today is endangered, if at all, by punitive taxation and the American Newspaper Guild. Ickes declares that he did not read the essays of his contributors before he wrote his introduction, but it takes only a nodding acquaintance with the views of the National Association of Manufacturers to know the views of such a one as Arthur Robb, editor and publisher of *Editor and Publisher*. Arthur Robb, and most of the other contributors to this book, believe that the American press is the best damned press in the world.

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1940, *by Whitney H. Shepardson and William O. Scroggs. Harper & Bros. $3.50.*

Continuing their series of annual volumes on American foreign relations, the authors have not given us much more than a digest of the Sunday news review of the New York *Times*. This book is not only derivative in terms of information, but its interpretation and very style do not depart from Mr. Sulzberger's "fit to print" standards. The result is therefore a mixed blessing: much useful information, with all the names, dates, and places well recorded, but no independent analysis to give the volume more importance than a newspaper file. Another difficulty lies in the arbitrary beginning in midwinter 1939, and closing in midwinter 1940. Actually the summer was the great divide in American policy. The fall of France speeded up the Anglo-American alliance, and at the same time a sharp departure developed in American policy toward Japan. And then there was the Havana conference which opened a new phase in the United States' relations with the Latin American republics. Annual volumes must follow the calendar, of course. But history never does.

SUMMER NEVER ENDS, *by Waldo Frank. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $2.50.*

Summer Never Ends is the twenty-first of Waldo Frank's published volumes, which include, besides novels, his well known mystic writings on Latin America and the amazingly ignorant essay in political speculation called "Chart for Rough Water" which was published last year. The new book, aimed, as the blurb informs us, at a "wider audience" is a rather lame attempt to write a popular potboiler. The ingredients have been thrown in. We are introduced to a wealthy, middle-aged lawyer and his nasty, luxury-loving wife, to an earnest young girl who reminds him of his idealistic youth, to her semi-socialist boyfriend, struggling and poor, and to the necessary number of spear bearers to fill up the stage. The triangle is nobly resolved. The deceived young man kills himself and the rich old one renounces the girl and returns to his children.

Still, the pot does not boil. A certain absentmindedness is apparent in the composition of the book. There are confused references to Nazism and to war, which merely aggravate the shoddiness of the True Romance formula. Even the writing texture is suitably execrable. "He felt her condense into a kind of preparation. She did not protest. This, he had learned: before his sureness, when he could find and exert it, she submitted. Her hardness, her clarity, fragilely submissive: that was the ecstasy she promised."

ORGANIC DESIGN, *by Eliot F. Noyes. Museum of Modern Art. $1.*

The catalogue of the Museum of Modern Art's current show contains the prize winning designs for furniture, fabrics, and lamps in the museum's competition throughout the United States and Latin America. The exhibit has more than academic interest in that contracts have been arranged for the designers with manufacturers who will attempt to make their work available to people in moderate income categories. Examples are already on sale in department stores throughout the country.

The influence of new methods of production on esthetic trends is neatly illustrated by this hopeful development in house furnishing. The appearance of new materials, such as plywood, tubular steel, foam rubber, stick rattan, and the plastics suggests new possibilities in furniture. The idea of exact

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and economical functioning, derived from machine production, has become natural to our thinking. But it remained for the modern designer, trained in industrial methods, to apply the idea to the unaccustomed field of home living, and to make us see the beauty of novel textures and of the basic forms dictated by structural needs alone. Architectural design replaces the tasty concoction known as "interior decoration." The heavy, overstuffed, curlecued, and dusty period pieces which were assigned foreordained positions in our living and bed rooms are giving way to lighter, cheaper-to-make, easier-to-clean, and adaptable chairs, tables, and beds, with the simple lines of the lathe, ruler, and square.

PARADISE LIMITED, *by Thomas Blake Clark. Modern Age Books. $2.75.*

Paradise Limited is an unusual type of travel book, a charming, humorous, and informal account of the history of modern Hawaii. The author, an assistant professor of English at the University of Hawaii, conveys the enchantment the Islands have for him. The book reveals a deep sympathy for the native population and captures the nature of the Kanakas, their good spirits and hospitality. The reader is regaled with colorful portraits of the native rulers, folklore, and lively anecdotes concerning the first white inhabitants.

Professor Clark resents the encroachments of commercialization upon the lives of the populace, and believes that the Hawaiians are still uncorrupted by the rise of trade and imperialism because the ways of modern capitalism are so alien to their culture and mode of living. He is not uncritical of the evils imperialism has foisted upon them, but maintains that a democratic way of life exists among the different races and national groups, at least on the campus of the University of Hawaii. However, items in the book indicate that there is a strong undercurrent of conflict among the different groups, Chinese, Japanese, natives, and whites, engendered by imperialist conflicts.

SPLENDOR AND SHAME: My German Odyssey, *by Otto Zarek. Bobbs-Merrill. $2.50.*

Otto Zarek, exiled man of letters, prominent member of the postwar German middle class intelligentsia, has written a personal account of life in Germany from the last war to Hitler's coming to power. The author exhibits the good intentions, dilettantism, and confused social observation typical of the artist who lives in a narrow, intellectual circle of fellow celebrities. Regarding his own coterie as the *primum mobile* of the world at large, he cannot comprehend the social groups and forces outside.

The author's Olympian outlook still persists, however. It is shown most strikingly in his amused, tolerant attitude toward the Bavarian uprising. Zarek attributes the revolt itself to sex-starved peasant soldiers who re-

sented a military regulation that kept them in barracks, away from the arms of Munich beauties! His intellectual snobbism and insularity also lead him to paraphrase Hitler in describing the people of his country: "Indeed, there is nothing absurd that the German people will not believe, provided it is presented to them in a sufficiently effective manner." A really great man of German letters, Heinrich Heine, has painted a more truthful portrait of his people. The German, said Heine, is a bear in chains who, once aroused, will liberate himself and crush his master.

THE MEN AROUND CHURCHILL, *by Rene Kraus. J. B. Lippincott. $3.*

A study of Britain's administrative leaders, analyzing their influence and role in the national and international scene, should be very valuable at this time. Rene Kraus is content, however, to dash off colorful summaries of the careers of Lord Halifax, Anthony Eden, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Ernest Bevin, Herbert Morrison, Clement Attlee, Lord Beaverbrook, Sir Stafford Cripps, and King George VI, among others. The author draws pen portraits, emphasizing individual eccentricities, accentuating them with puns. It is smooth, popular journalism that contributes little insight into the workings and directions of the Cabinet and leaders of England in whose hands the future course of Great Britain rests at present.

THE RHETORIC OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *by Bower Aly. Columbia University Press. $2.50.*

Thomas Jefferson once wrote, "Hamilton is really a colossus to the anti-republican party. Without numbers, he is a host in himself." Thus, the discerning of the sources of this man's strength becomes a major task for those interested in American history. The author, a professor of speech, has exhaustively analyzed one of the attributes of the man that made him a force to be reckoned with—namely his powers of persuasion. This is done by centering attention on Hamilton's role at the Poughkeepsie convention of June to July 1788, when New York ratified—by a majority of three votes—the Constitution of the United States. This highly specialized job is done well, but when the author moves from it to speculate about the great significance of the art of rhetoric as an historical force, even suggesting the plausibility of "a rhetorical theory of history," he is seeing mountains where only molehills exist. The study merits a footnote in the yet-to-come definitive life of Hamilton, but no more.

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GOINGS ON

MARXIST ANALYSIS OF THE WEEK'S NEWS by OAKLEY JOHNSON, Daily Worker Staff writer, Sun., Oct. 19, 8:30 P.M. Workers School, 50 E. 13 Street. Admission 25 cents.

COMING—WELCOME ALMANACS—Full evening program of American Songs for American People. Friday Evening, October 24th, Transport Hall, 153 W. 64th St. Tickets at New Theatre League, 135 W. 44th St., BR 9-5929.

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"THE MALTESE FALCON"

At last a detective film in which the plot makes sense. Joy Davidman greets a sleuth who is human and doesn't have to wear a funny hat.

DETECTIVE novels are pretty well established, by now, as a form of literature. The detective film, however, has lagged far behind, usually concerning itself with dragging a beautiful girl from the clutches of the villains. With *The Thin Man,* based on Dashiell Hammett's crisp book, the screen seemed for a while to be entering a new era of murder—a salty, humorous, wise-cracking era. Unfortunately, the wise-cracking detective films soon began to sacrifice the plot to the gags; when their action lagged, it was always possible for a mysterious hand to grope through the window curtains and shoot another victim.

It has remained for *The Maltese Falcon* —also, significantly, from a Dashiell Hammett novel—to make the movie detective story completely adult. The adapters have wisely kept close to their text, and the result is admirable in plot and character. Sam Spade, the amorous but grim detective, is more effective than Sherlock Holmes ever was, proving in Humphrey Bogart's adroit hands that a detective can be human and doesn't have to wear a funny hat. Characterization is the outstanding excellence of *The Maltese Falcon;* the detective, the villains, the sweet little liar of a heroine, are all memorable people. Even the widow in the background, weeping, is an incisive study of one kind of fraud.

Moreover, there is nothing the matter with the plot. It makes sense, and in an adult fashion. Its murders have a purpose, its murderers have a valid goal, and the ironic conclusion is a triumph rare in detective films—where the last ten minutes are usually devoted to the inevitable and dull analysis of the crime. All the customary pitfalls have been avoided; there is no wild and silly chase of a murderer over rooftops, and nobody even hints that they should all get together and reenact the murder.

The dialogue is as good as the rest of it. This is genuine American talk of the big-city variety, terse and wry lipped, funny without unnatural straining for brightness. As delivered by Mr. Bogart, the sardonic lines are irresistible. The supporting cast is almost equally brilliant, especially Peter Lorre, Sydney Greenstreet, and Elisha Cook, as a trio of crooks whom I expect to meet regularly in my nightmares from now on. And Mary Astor makes a magnificent liar. Something ought also to be said for John Huston's direction. Having a hand in writing the film, Mr. Huston was able to plan and execute his scenes with no waste motion and no excess of talk. But the personality which really marks *The Maltese Falcon* is unquestionably Dashiell Hammett's; the screen needs more of him.

"IT STARTED WITH EVE" has little to do with Eve. There aren't even any serpents. Charles Laughton is on hand, however, tempting Deanna Durbin with the noblest motives. As a benevolent old walrus who woos the girl he wants his son to marry, Mr. Laughton has all his usual technical skill, and it is probably not his fault if benevolent fathers-in-law are a little dull.

The film, however, is inoffensive enough. Not particularly believable, it manages to keep you laughing sufficiently hard to fool you most of the time; when the humor gives out, Miss Durbin bursts into song. A little more attention to probabilities and minor characters might have made it a first-rate comedy. As a duet between Durbin and Laughton, it is unfortunately repetitious and sentimental. On his death bed, the old father wants to see his son's fiancee. Fiancee being out shopping, the desperate son substitutes a hat-check girl, little Deanna; Father approves of Deanna and promptly recovers. The substitution must be continued for fear of upsetting the old man's weak heart. We all know what happens next. The absent fiancee, indeed, never has a chance and never steals a scene.

It Started with Eve does, at least, have the advantage of Miss Durbin's pleasant and well amplified voice. And it is funny enough, especially in its introductory scenes, haunted by two wistful macaber gentlemen who want to make a death mask.

"THE MAN WHO SEEKS THE TRUTH," the new French film, dates from just before the betrayal. This picture is a rather poor study in conflict—the conflict of a great actor with nasty and vulgar material. One of those pieces of "well made theater" in which the French have always excelled, it deals with a familiar theme, the horrors of French upper middle class family life.

This is a subject which has inspired great books and might easily have produced a great satirical film; burdened with a nonsensical, melodramatic plot and a great deal of false pathos, it becomes, in *The Man Who Seeks the Truth,* merely wearisome and cheap. A millionaire banker, suspecting the infidelity of his mistress, shams deafness in order to eavesdrop on people around him; promptly discovering (and it serves him right) that his servants hate him, his sister cheats him, and his mistress and godson are lovers. For some reason this nasty old man is presented as a persecuted saint, and his eavesdropping does not prevent him from assuming an attitude of conscious nobility and driving the other sinners forth into the night.

Yet, if the feeble plot with its absurd denunciatory climax could have been saved, Raimu would have done it. It is interesting to watch him invest the shoddy lines with real dignity, real pain; interesting and rather tragic, as the waste of talent must always be. Time and again Raimu lifts the play with a look or a turn of the head, a tone of voice, till it seems magnificent; then cheapness reasserts itself. In spite of the star, in spite of brilliant work by Gabrielle Dorziat and Alermne as the offensive relatives, *The Man Who Seeks the Truth* remains a whited sepulcher.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

Custom Built

"Anne of England" is fusty . . . . Bobby Clark sans script.

GILBERT MILLER, who has produced this drama by Mary Cass Canfield and Ethel Borden (rewritten from an original by Norman Ginsbury), undoubtedly felt that it would help cement American support for embattled Britain. It won't. For not only is *Anne of England* a fusty costume piece, but it can be recommended only as a soporific. In addition to that, consciously or unconsciously, it makes a mock of the very nobility of British royalty it expects you to admire.

"Good" Queen Anne was no Elizabeth; neither was she a Victoria. She was fat and foolish; she suffered from the gout; she had constant recourse to brandy which she took in teacups, insisting that it was "cold tea"; and there is ample evidence that her mentality rated little higher than that of a dull ten-year-old. All these facts are duly presented on the stage of the St. James, and they are likely to induce an audience which has come to worship to remain to jeer.

The adapters of Mr. Ginsbury's play (which has been lying around the marts here for some years) have seen fit to toss history to the winds and write in many topical references. It is the period of the Thirty Years' War. Hitler—I mean Louis XIV—is ravaging the continent. The Duke of Marlborough (ancestor of the present Winston Churchill) is the leader of Her Majesty's armies, devoted to saving Europe from the spreading scourge. His duchess is the fat queen's confidante.

There is historical evidence that John

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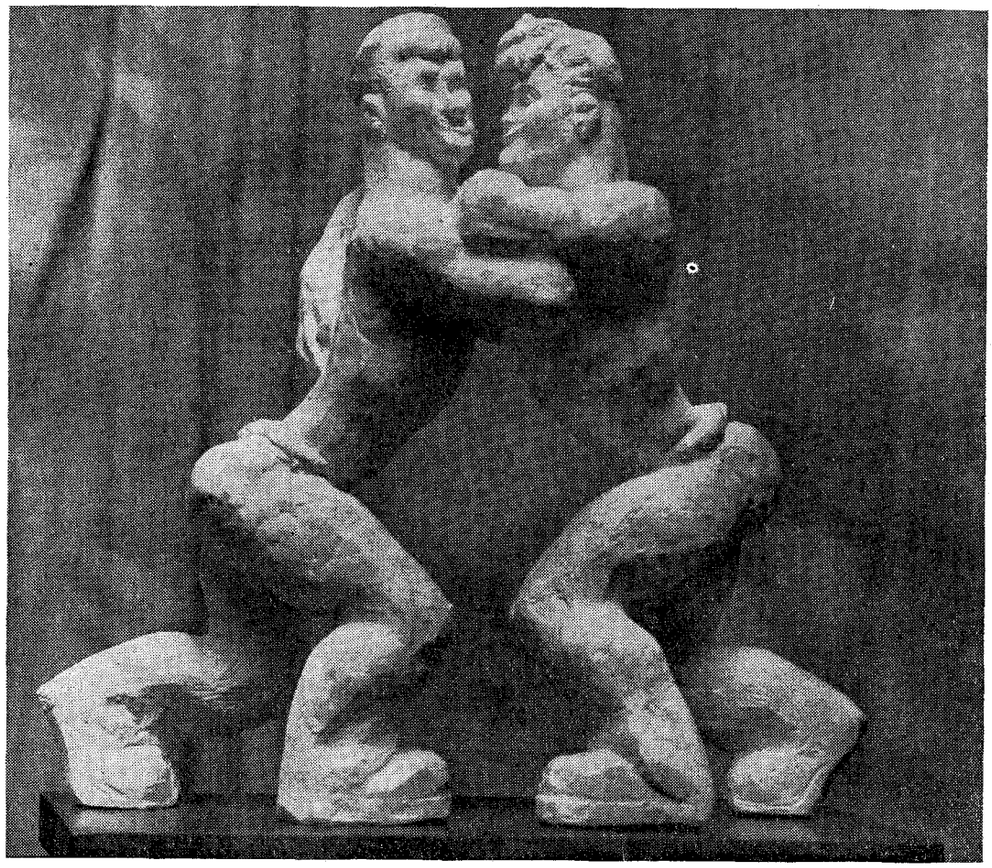
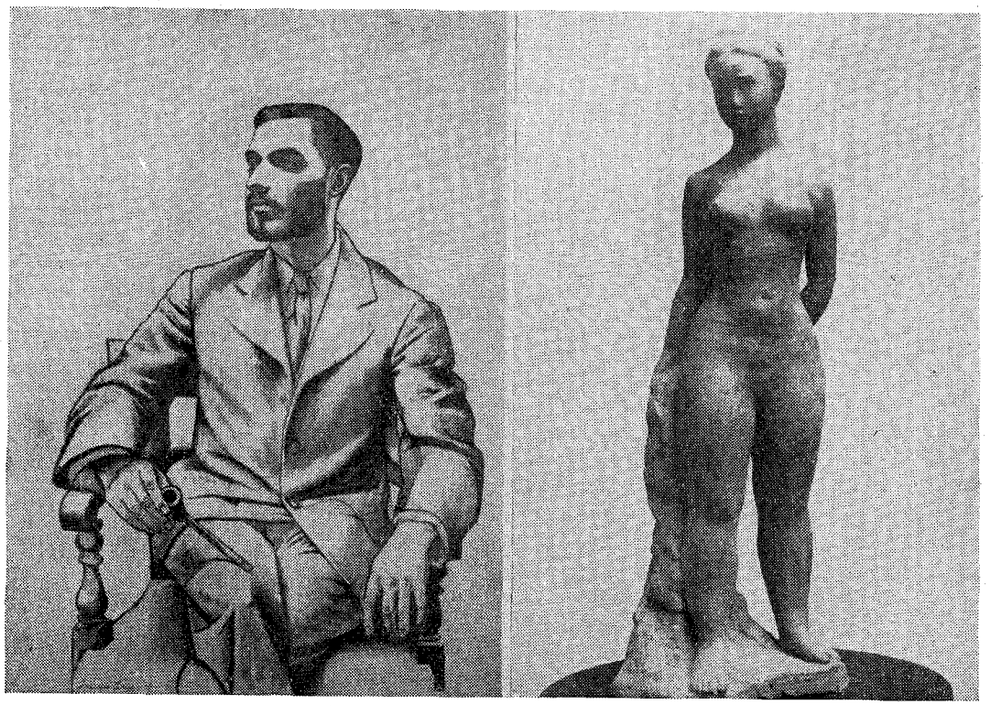
Churchill (the duke) and his duchess were something else again; that so far from operating on the queen for patriotic and humanitarian motives, they were making a nice thing of it for themselves. But no matter.

The duchess, out of the kindness of her heart, has introduced into the palace an eighteenth century fifth columnist and appeaser, one Abigail Hill. Abigail (later Mrs. Masham) connives with the palace fifth columnist, Mr. Harley, Secretary of State, and she wins the queen's confidence from the Marlboroughs, delivering England and the queen into the hands of England's enemies.

It is duller than you could imagine. There is no suspense here, no conflict beyond an occasional sharp word between the mutually conniving ladies; but there *is* a succession of handsomely costumed actors, most of whom may be expected to trip over their swords at any moment. (The night I saw the thing, the Duke of Marlborough forgot how to put on his fancy hat.) If you enjoy pageantry, you might stop your ears and watch these people move around the stage. If you don't, there's no compulsion upon you to see *Anne of England*.

In the title role, Miss Barbara Everest contrives a highly intelligent and occasionally moving performance. She is the epitome of obesity, gout, tippling feeblemindedness. As the Duchess of Marlborough, Flora Robson was more exciting in *Ladies in Retirement*. The conniving Abigail is played in an undistinguished manner by Jessica Tandy, and the gluttonous prince consort (H. H. von Twardowski) is adequately gluttonous.





Included in the current exhibition of An American Group at the American Artists Gallery in New York are (above) Fo'castle Waltz *by Louis Slobodkin, (below)* Portrait *by Francis Criss, and* Little Eurasian Figure *by Berta Margoulies.*

THERE'S A BAR next to the Hudson Theater that has a sign out these days. It says, "All Men Are Alike—but not Our Bartender." That's the nearest thing to a laugh you're likely to find about the new farce at the Hudson itself. Imported from England and directed by Harry Wagstaff Gribble (who once wrote one of the world's funniest himself—*March Hares*), the new play by Vernon Sylvaine is a dud.

There's no doubt that with his thirty-six years of experience in circus, burlesque, vaudeville, and musical comedy, Bobby Clark could come out on a bare stage and make you laugh. For he has natural gifts in addition to his considerable experience. The only trouble is that the fine pantaloon Clark is not permitted to come out on a bare stage.

He comes out on a stage encumbered by many staircases and doors, supernumerary characters in a job lot, all seeking shelter for one reason or another (most of them lubricious) in Reginald Denny's country home in Surrey. Mr. Clark accordingly has to fight his way through all this scenery, all these distinctly supernumerary characters, and one of the worst scripts the season has vouchsafed. Let it be said in his favor that he fails honorably. And there is internal evidence that what laughs he does raise from the proceedings are contributed by his own genius, not the author's.

Let us have Mr. Clark, and a script. Or, short of that, a bare stage.

Alvah Bessie.

★

FOREIGN correspondents in the Soviet Union mention, with naive astonishment, the fact that with the great cities of the Union under siege, curtains continue to rise nightly in Moscow, Leningrad, and Odessa theaters. It was only to have been expected, for in the Soviet Union the theater is something more than "entertainment"—a word used on Broadway too frequently to designate the opposite of content.

It should interest New Masses readers to

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know what plays the embattled Soviet citizens have been seeing in their theaters. During the season just past, the classical drama has achieved its usual representation all over the countryside. The Art Theater produced Sheridan's *School for Scandal,* the Maly Theater offered Gorky's *Barbarians,* and two theaters in Moscow presented the German classical drama *Mary Stuart.* Goldoni's *The Mistress of the Inn,* Flaubert's *Madame Bovary,* Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Moliere's *Don Juan,* Benavente's *Vested Interests,* and plays by Chekhov, Ostrovsky, Turgenev, and Lermontov figured largely in the repertoires of the Maly, the Central Theater of the Red Army, and the Kamerny.

Of contemporary works—incidentally, Clifford Odets' *Golden Boy* is in production now—the emphasis seems to have been placed on dramas of a patriotic content. Patriotism, to the Soviet citizen, involves not only a natural love of country, but an exploration of that country's traditions and aspirations, as well as the individual potentialities of its citizens. Dramas that find their materials in the days of the Civil War and in the intervention, in the twenty year struggle for consolidating the Soviet power, in the processes of collectivization and the construction of great public works, are regularly produced, as well as such plays as *Field Marshal Suvorov* (here seen in a moving picture version), which deal with peoples' leaders of pre-Soviet periods.

Of strictly contemporary drama, the recently bombed Vakhtangov Theater in Moscow was showing a play about the famous General Kutuzov, who was largely responsible for the Russian people's destruction in 1812 of the mighty armies of Napoleon. (You will remember that he was a central character in Tolstoy's *War and Peace,* and the production drew heavily on the great novelist's conception of the character.) Mikhail Svetlov's lyrical play *Twenty Years After* deals with the post-revolutionary struggles of the people, embodied in the character of a young man whose childhood heroes were the three musketeers of Dumas' similarly titled novel. This was, characteristically, produced in the Moscow Theater for Children.

In the collective spirit of Soviet life, a play called *The Dawn of a City* was recently written and produced and acted by the young members of the newest theater in Moscow, the Studio, directed by the playwright Arbuzov. This is a poetic drama that handles material Soviet playwrights love to deal with—socialist construction. Most popular of current plays is I. Bersenev's *A Fellow From Our Town* (which is under consideration here at the present time), and follows, in episodic fashion, the young manhood and maturity of a typical Soviet citizen—as lover, revolutionary, student of military science, soldier of the line, military commander. Such a play is very much in the Soviet vein, as it conceives of human character as an integrated and dialectical process that cannot be separated into isolated parts, or divorced from the historical processes which condition the life of a human being.

In preparation by the famous Moscow Art Theater is *The Kremlin Chimes,* in which the figure of Lenin will, for the first time, stride the boards of that great institution. In these days of war against a foreign, fascist invader, the theater of the Soviet Union has taken its expected place, as a weapon in the hands of its owner—the ordinary citizen.

A. B.

Jazz Improvisations

Some recent Blue Note recordings. . . . Bechet, Frankie Newton and others.

BLUE NOTE recordings' devotion to jazz and the company's courage in disdaining surefire successes for risky exploration is laudatory. In blind allegiance to the school which advocates and recognizes only jazz which is improvised, Blue Note is staking its future on an anachronism.

In the beginnings, improvisation supplied jazz with its life blood. The "collective improvisation" of the early New Orleans bands (and particularly the exploits of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band) galvanized a score-bound music world that gaped, listened, and emulated. Those early improvisations broke ground and laid the foundation for future developments in the art form. But at the point where "swing" was reached, jazz musicians marked the inherent weakness in pure improvisation and corrected and implemented.

Those weaknesses are, of course, tied up with the difficulties in turning on inspiration at will, sustaining it for an arbitrary length of time, and communicating it to (and sharing it with) other members of a group. On rare occasions, such a community of spirit is achieved and the result is a composition miraculously well organized and constructed. These are the exceptions rather than the rule; when they occur, the creators make a point of remembering and notating it (mentally, perhaps) so that they may recreate and recapture its magic.

For the most part, improvisations are haphazard and uneven. An instrument attaining a high degree of promise will be followed, more likely than not, by another that fails to fulfill or exceed it. Listen to the "classics"

Rodney

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submitted as evidence by the "true believers." Louis Armstrong's Hot Five?—a one-man-band if there ever was one. The Chicagoans?—"head" arrangements (careful preparation with the spots for solo work systematically plotted).

Collective improvisation is both desirable and possible (witness the music produced by Duke Ellington's band and Benny Goodman's small groups), but its value is enhanced when the experimentation takes place in the rehearsal hall and the public performance is the result of discriminating selection. Attending "jam sessions" is fun, but it is only the professional who comes away with anything. The layman is best rewarded when he hears the finished product.

Here are a few Blue Note releases:

"Profoundly Blue" (17-B), an improvisation by Edmond Hall Celeste Quartet, is one of the miracles mentioned above. Charles Christian's guitar and Edmond Hall's clarinet are the melody instruments and they are united in perfect understanding. Meade "Lux" Lewis performs intelligently on the celeste (ignoring the "novelty" of the instrument), but it is probably the contrapuntal theme plucked out on the bass by Israel Crosby and woven into the woof-and-warp of the "improvisation" that makes it all-of-a-piece.

"Summertime" (6-B), by Sidney Bechet and his Blue Note Quartet, is not a recent release but it is worth your time and money. The soprano saxaphone is considered a treacherous instrument by musicians and for a few seconds you may find yourself disturbed by its tone and pitch. As played by Bechet, you will promptly forget its shortcomings in his rapturous, deeply emotional exposition of George Gershwin's melody from "Porgy and Bess." Here Bechet unearths and explores the trail that bridged for Gershwin his heritage of Hebraic melody and that of the American Negro. A remarkable performance.

"Pounding Heart Blues" (the "A" side) contains superb trumpet solos by Frankie Newton, but the record as a whole confirms everything I have said about the average improvisation.

"Variations on a Theme" (19 & 20) is four sides of Meade "Lux" Lewis playing boogie woogie on a harpsichord. Many listeners when they heard Lewis perform his "Honky Tonk Train Blues" for the first time were convinced that it was played on at least two pianos. Lewis on the harpsichord will now have those same listeners swearing it's two guitars and four mandolins. Blue Note treats the work with extreme seriousness (subdividing it into four movements with "significant" titles and program notes) and claims that ". . . Lewis neither adapts the harpsichord to his style of playing, nor his style of playing to the harpsichord . . . [but] creates an original synthesis." Lewis doesn't do quite that, but he does create interesting effects on a "new" instrument and, with further development, will unquestionably contribute to the vocabulary of jazz. ELLIOTT GRENNARD.

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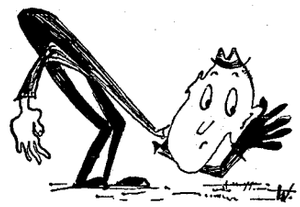

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